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SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

AT THE BREACH OF ACRE 9TH MAY 1799

London, Richard Bentley 1847

THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

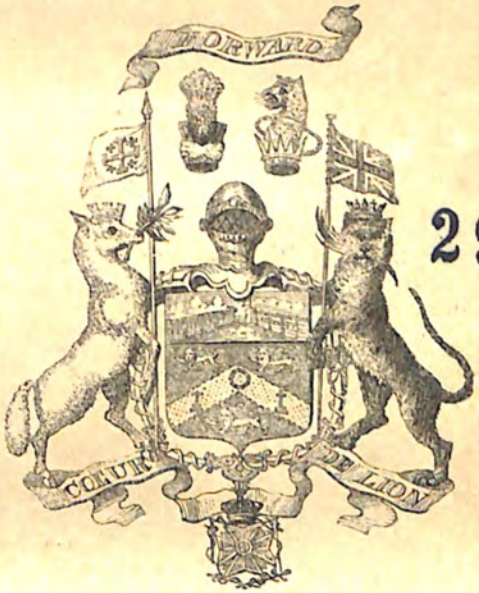
OF

ADMIRAL

SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH,

G. C. B.

By JOHN BARROW, Esq., F.R.S.



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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1848.

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LONDON:
Printed by S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, and Fley,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane

PREFACE.

THE circumstance which led to my undertaking the following work was purely accidental, and quite unexpected by me, as I never had an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the distinguished subject of the Memoir. In the early part of the present year, Mr. Bentley, the publisher, called upon me to propose that I should write the Life with a Selection from the Correspondence of Sir W. Sidney Smith, for which he conceived me to be well qualified. Mr. Bentley, it appeared, had purchased a vast mass of original autograph manuscripts and papers relating to this subject, and considering from the nature of the materials that a work of public interest might be produced from them, accordingly placed them in my hands.

After a laborious examination of this mass of unarranged papers, I discovered that there was scarcely sufficient available matter to carry out the proposed design.

On mentioning this to my father, it occurred to him,

that Captain Septimius Arabin, R.N., was an old acquaintance, and the most intimate, sincere, and long-tried friend of Sir Sidney Smith; that he was still living in Paris, and must necessarily be in possession of much valuable information regarding his late friend, and probably of many manuscript documents; and he resolved upon asking him the question.

The application was immediately made and most kindly responded to. "The sight of your handwriting (Captain Arabin says to my father), reminded me of old times; and it gives me the greatest pleasure to learn that your son undertakes the task of writing the memoirs of our old friend Sir Sidney Smith. I know of no one more likely to do justice to such a work; and I shall be most happy indeed, if I can in any way contribute information or materials to aid his undertaking." To myself he kindly writes, "I assure you that it gives me the greatest pleasure to contribute, in any way, to the materials which you already have, for compiling the life of Sir Sidney Smith. I wish much that the papers which he left had been in a less confused state than those I now send. Many of these papers are written by himself—papers of all kinds, which Sir Sidney had put into a *carton*, entitled 'Papers for the History of my Life.' Some of those I have already

sent, but you shall have all the others, and you can then make your selection."

I never can be sufficiently thankful for the liberal and unbounded kindness of Captain Arabin, in the profuse supply of materials, leaving it to my discretion to make use of such as might with propriety be given to the world. He appears, indeed, to feel a relief in placing the papers in my father's hands, for my use. In a letter to him, he says, "I know from long experience that no one, either in official or private life, felt more justly or more kindly towards Sir Sidney, or more fully appreciated his public services, than you did, and poor Sir Sidney had always the same feeling of regard and esteem for you."

I say *relief*—for Sir Sidney bequeaths by his Will to his nephew W. S. Smith, and Septimius Arabin, captains in His Majesty's navy, as a joint property, all manuscripts, prints, and drawings, serving as materials "to compile and produce by their joint labours, the history of my life."

Sir Sidney, on this occasion, did not reflect that an historian is not made *by order*, or by a legacy in a will, and instead of "joint labours," probably meant only "joint exertions," and so it appears to have been understood. The eldest and the youngest brothers of the deceased, Colonel Charles Douglas Smith and

Mr. Spencer Smith, two highly talented gentlemen, were to be named as editors, also the son of Spencer, (Herbert, a clergyman), the nephew (named as one in the will,) and Captain Arabin, making five persons, who were to compose a sort of literary committee, to select, arrange, and draw up a skeleton of the life of Sir Sidney. That such a scheme could not answer was soon apparent to Captain Arabin, and also to Mr. Spencer Smith, as well as to the others—in fact, it might have been seen at once, that five authors, dipping their pens into the same inkstand, were not likely to act in unison. Mr. Spencer Smith declares his inability to take any active co-operation in the embryo project, giving as one reason that the publication "neither can nor ought to originate from the near relatives of the deceased; yet the authors, promoters, and patrons of this national memorial of a member of our family, are entitled to all the encouragement derivable from our sanction and adoption of the measure, and to the cheap inadequate reward of our thankfulness." And though he had himself given up the task, he says, "The best tribute to his memory and the most lasting ornament that his friends can now obtain, must come from the pen and the press, by a judicious selection of the bright features of his character, of which in fact there is no deficiency—quite

enough to perpetuate a brilliant name in the history of his times."

There is one memoir of this extraordinary man, and but one with which I am acquainted, from a writer who has chosen to conceal his name under that of *Ratlin the Reefer*, the real name being (as I am told,) Edward Howard. It needed no concealment. His book appears to be a faithful outline of the life and transactions of Sir Sidney Smith, mixed however with other matters, which would have been better omitted.

Abridged accounts are met with in the various publications of the day; magazines, registers, chronicles, and other periodicals, more especially in the "Naval Chronicle," which was amply supplied by the family, with authentic materials in most matters that concerned Sir Sidney. His friend Hammer (Baron Hammer de Purgstal) wrote and printed in Vienna an heroic poem in the German language, and in the Alexandrine stanza, entitled "*Die befreyung von Akri*," which I believe has not been translated into English.

I have also received (unavoidably at the end of my labours) from Captain William Smith, a small volume of MSS., among which is a brief life of Sir William Sidney Smith, up to the relief of Acre, by no less a person than the Lady Isabella Fitzgerald, Viscontesse de Chabot, by marriage. She says they

were written in French before she was seventeen years of age, "being intended as my exercises, under our friend and preceptor, L'Abbé Varré. Convinced," she adds, "that my pen could not render justice to the high deeds of this great man, I shall not undertake to write history. I am going only to give here a fragment of his exploits, to which I shall add a few anecdotes, which will serve to make known his fine character." Such is the warmth of her praise and admiration of Sir Sidney, though she never saw him or heard him speak but once, that the Abbé Varré said to her, "Vous ecrivez bien ; mais je crois que vous avez arraché votre plume des ailes de l'amour." "Madame Du Four *frowned;* I looked guilty and laughed." The anecdotes she gives are few, and not sufficiently curious to introduce into the present work.

I cannot conclude this preface without repeating how infinitely obliged I must ever consider myself to Captain Arabin, and also to his co-executor, Captain W. Sidney Smith, for their readiness to afford me every assistance in their power. Nor can I pass over the spontaneous offerings of Mr. James Alexander Manning, an old friend of Sir Sidney, who has supplied me with a valuable collection of personal anecdotes, strongly illustrative of character, many of them occurring in the latter stages of his life.

I have little to say regarding the plan, or the execution of the work I have now brought forward. It appeared to me that to embody Sir Sidney's own narrative in his own words, wherever it could be done, and on most occasions to let him tell his own story, in his own way, would be the surest means of conveying to the reader the most correct and striking likeness of the portrait to be exhibited.*

* It is somewhat singular that an application, by a London publisher, was made to my father, during the lifetime of Sir Sidney Smith, to write his life. In a letter to the admiral, in reference to this application, my father says: "I told the publisher that, as far as that gallant officer's public services were concerned, I had the means of knowing them well; but that the public required something more than battles and sieges: they wanted private correspondence, anecdotes, &c., as in the life of Collingwood; in short I told him that, like the Egyptians, I was quite unable to make bricks without straw; but he entreated I would let you know the public anxiety, and that he should be most happy to usher the narrative into the world. This I promised him I would do, and I do think, most assuredly, that the various scenes in which you have been actively employed in different parts of the world, and your intercourse with the people, would make a most interesting work for the reading public."

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THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE.—ENTERS THE NAVY.—PROMOTED LIEUTENANT OF THE ALCIDE.—LETTERS TO HIS FATHER.—IS PROMOTED TO THE ALCMENE, AS CAPTAIN, AND PAYS HER OFF IN 1784.

1764—1784.

THE Life and Correspondence of an adventurous and brave hero, though not exactly one of a hundred fights, but of as many extraordinary and perilous encounters by sea and land,—partaking of the marvellous, the chivalrous, and the romantic—are now proposed to be given, combined as we find them in the whole career of the renowned Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith, whose amiable disposition was surpassed only by the goodness of his heart, ever alive and open to the calls of humanity.

Many believe that the late facetious Sydney Smith, Canon-Residentiary of St. Paul's, was a near connexion

of the admiral; others consider Sir Sidney Smith to have been what an intimate friend of his says he called himself, the cousin of Lord Strangford, and that friend writes, "I know that his lordship reciprocated the consanguinity."

It has been stated, however, by competent authority, that though the baptismal names of the hero of Acre and of the present Lord Strangford agree, yet no connexion has been found to subsist between their families, and as the pedigree has lately been elaborately examined at the Heralds' College, through the kindness of Mr. Albert Woods, Lancaster Herald, there is strong reason to believe that no relationship does exist. He says, "The family claimed relationship to Viscount Strangford's family, but failed in establishing such descent, and they were obliged to have armorial ensigns recorded to them, which are different from those used by the noble viscount and his ancestors. My opinion is that the admiral was not connected with the Strangford family. I have never seen a tittle of proof in support of such claim."

In fact, the name of Sidney is to be found in the descent of several families; in that of Strangford it appears to be derived from Lady Barbara Sidney, seventh daughter of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and has descended to the present Lord Strangford. The name of Sidney shone with great splendour in Sir Philip Sidney, and his sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke, immortalized by Ben Jonson's incomparable lines intended for her epitaph.

> Underneath this sable herse
> Lies the subject of all verse—

Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother.
Death, ere thou hast killed another,
Fair and learn'd and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.

Sidney Herbert is an instance of its introduction from them into the Pembroke family, as a christian name.

Sir Sidney Smith was unable to trace with certainty his pedigree further back than to his great grandfather, Captain Cornelius Smith, who was born at Hythe, in 1661, and whose monumental inscription, in the church of New Shoreham, states that he died on the 26th of October, 1727, aged sixty-six. This Cornelius was father of Captain Edward Smith, who commanded a frigate at the attack on Laguira, where he was severely wounded, and died shortly afterwards at the Island of Antigua, leaving, besides daughters, two sons, whereof the younger, General Edward Smith, married the widow of Mr. Cooke, of Harefield, (who was mother of the late General Sir George Cooke, who commanded the guards at Waterloo; and of Sir H Frederick Cooke, private secretary of his late Royal Highness the Duke of York,) but died without issue.

The elder son, Captain John Smith of the guards, was gentleman-usher to Queen Charlotte, and aide-de-camp to Lord George Sackville Germain. This gentleman was so exasperated at the treatment his lordship experienced for obeying the orders of his chief, in opposition to those of Ferdinand, Prince of Brunswick, the general commanding the allied army at the battle of Minden, that he quitted the service in disgust, and passed the greater portion of his life in

that extraordinary building, or boat house, at Dover, long known as Smith's Folly.

Captain John Smith left three sons, Lieut.-Colonel Charles Douglas Smith, governor of Prince Edward's Island, Sir William Sidney Smith, the subject of this memoir, and John Spencer Smith, who, in his youth, was page of honour to her late Majesty Queen Charlotte, and afterwards held a commission in the guards, but subsequently quitted the service, and was engaged many years in diplomacy; he died at Caen in Normandy, in 1840, leaving two sons, Mr. Edward Herbert Smith, a clergyman of the established church, and William Sidney Smith, captain in the royal navy.

General Edward Smith, who commanded the 43rd regiment, and was governor of Fort Charles, Jamaica, was the younger brother of Captain John Smith, and subsequently held an office in the royal household. He appears, by letters written to Mr. Pitt and the principal members of the administration, in behalf of his nephew, to have entertained for Sidney a strong and permanent regard.

Sir Sidney's father married, in 1760, Mary, one of the daughters of Mr. Pinkney Wilkinson, an opulent merchant of London; and as this union was effected without the consent of Mr. Wilkinson, and possibly in direct opposition to it, he appears to have suffered his anger to get the better of his feelings of affection, and to have bestowed his great property on the other daughter, who had become Lady Camelford. Sir Sidney, therefore, received little benefit from the wealth of his maternal grandfather.

The issue of this marriage was the three sons already

mentioned, the eldest Colonel Charles Douglas Smith, who is still living; William Sidney Smith, who died in Paris on the 26th of May, 1840; and the third, John Spencer Smith, who received the appointment of page to Queen Charlotte, and in process of time was sent as envoy or chargé-d'affaires to Constantinople, where he became minister-plenipotentiary at the period of Sir Sidney's services in the Levant and in Egypt, and, on the arrival of Lord Elgin as ambassador, was appointed to the court of Munich.

It does not appear in what manner the education of William Sidney was conducted. It is stated that at an early age he was sent to Tunbridge school, a very excellent establishment, under the guidance of Doctor Knox, but that, by the interference of old Wilkinson, he was withdrawn, and sent to a boarding-school at Bath; yet, as he was placed in the navy before he was twelve years of age, his education could not have been very extensive, and it is particularly noticed here, on account of the very correct and even classical style in which all his numerous and varied compositions, both public and private, in the French as well as in the English language, are drawn up, sometimes a little more lengthy perhaps than the subject required, but always in nervous and appropriate language. We shall see, however, presently, where he obtained his knowledge of the French language.

A man-of-war, in which he must have received a large portion of his education, was not, at that time, exactly the situation for a young man to make progress in general learning, for then the whole system was confined nearly to the practical rules of seamanship,

and to as much of navigation and arithmetic as were necessary for a young midshipman to pass his examination for a lieutenant's commission.

At the present time a very different system has been adopted for the improvement of young officers in ships of war. They are not only supplied with naval instructors, many of them in the capacity of chaplains, but each ship is furnished with a well-assorted library, so distributed as to be equally available to the officers and seamen.

William Sidney Smith was born on the 21st of June, 1764, and entered the naval service about the age of eleven, judging from his own account in a memorial addressed to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent; he therein states that he entered his majesty's naval service in the beginning of the American War, on the coast of America, under the orders of Viscount Howe; but he could not there have remained long. His first entry appears, by the books of the admiralty, to have been in the Tortoise in June, 1777, and in January following he was appointed to the Unicorn. From the Unicorn he joined the Arrogant, Captain John Cleland, fitting at Portsmouth, from the 3rd of September to the 25th of November, 1779, when he joined the Sandwich, Captain Walter Young, at Spithead.*

* In the Unicorn of twenty guns Mr. Sidney, when little more than fourteen years of age, had an excellent opportunity of experiencing the conduct of a ship of war in action. The narrative is from his nephew, Captain William Sidney Smith, and was received by him from Sir Sidney.

"The Unicorn commanded by Captain Ford, an austere officer, the first-lieutenant being the late Captain Hurd, hydrographer of the navy, His Majesty's ships Experiment, forty-four guns, Captain Sir James Wallace, and Unicorn, were off Penobscot Bay; they chased the Raleigh, an

The Sandwich, at that time, bore the flag of the renowned Sir George Rodney, and our young sailor was fortunately with him in the splendid victory obtained over the Spaniards in 1780. Among the officers of this ship it appears he was thus early a general favourite: and that he was prompt and attentive to his duties an incidental circumstance bears indisputable testimony.

Sir Sidney Smith, when residing at Paris in the year 1827, makes application to His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, then Lord High Admiral, to appoint a nephew of his as a naval cadet (then named first class volunteers) to a ship in commission. The following is an extract from his royal highness's reply :—

American thirty-two gun frigate. The Unicorn, outsailing her consort, engaged the enemy single-handed in a hard action of three hours, the latter part of the time yard-arm and yard-arm. The ships were in this position when the enemy, becoming disabled, surrendered to the Unicorn, who took possession of her before the Experiment came up or fired a shot. The whole three hours was a hot battle. The Unicorn had thirteen men killed and many wounded; among the latter Sidney Smith, who was struck severely by a splinter.

"Besides this battle with the Raleigh, the Unicorn had many alongshore engagements, having at one time on board besides her crew 200 prisoners of privateers she had captured. There came on one of those hurricanes off Nantucket, much dreaded. Sidney, being mate of the watch, was ordered down with a gang of hands to get a trysail off the lower deck, the squall laid the ship on her beam-ends; they jumped on deck and assisted in heaving over board the guns."

Commander Smith adds that "all these ancient circumstances were related one evening to me by Sir Sidney himself, whilst I made rough notes,—Captain and Mrs. Arabin present. The errors, if any, are by my haste." They are pretty nearly as given by Schomberg, as far as the ship and the action are concerned. The only extraordinary part is the precocity of the *mate of the watch*—but the whole life of Sidney Smith is extraordinary.

"Bushey, October 21st, 1827.

"DEAR SIR,

"I cannot but feel well disposed towards any relation of yours in our service, when I recollect the various exploits you have performed in the navy, beginning with your having driven back to his quarters, on the lower deck of the Sandwich, a seaman, in the action of Lord Rodney off Cape St. Vincent, 1780, until you hauled down your flag.

"It will afford me great pleasure to place your nephew in a situation to lead to his promotion.

"God bless you, and ever believe me, dear sir,

"Yours truly,

(Signed) "WILLIAM."

Those who were well acquainted with the late king, and who knew the extraordinary tenacity of his memory, will not be so much surprised at this instance of it. Sidney Smith and he were besides both midshipmen, serving under the same flag, and engaged in the same battle, though not in the same ship,—his royal highness serving in the Prince George. But, when in the same fleet, midshipmen frequently meet and form friendships; and, after a well-fought battle, very naturally "fight it o'er again," and canvas the merits and defaults of each other's ships.

On the 25th of September, 1780, Admiral Rodney appointed Sidney Smith lieutenant of the Alcide, which was confirmed by the admiralty on the 29th of August, 1783, with the intention, apparently, of saving the rule which directs, that no officer can attain the rank

of lieutenant until he is nineteen years of age. He was in the action fought by Rear-Admiral Graves against the French fleet off the Chesapeake, under M. du Barras; and, in the following year, was again in the action fought by Sir George Rodney, with the French fleet at the Leeward Islands, on the 12th of April, 1782, when a complete victory was gained over the French fleet, commanded by the Count de Grasse, who was himself captured with the Ville de Paris, and four other ships of the line, "after a battle which lasted with unremitting fury from seven in the morning till half-past six in the evening, when the setting sun put an end to the contest."

On the 6th of May, 1782, Sidney Smith was promoted, by Admiral Sir George Rodney, commander of the Fury sloop, and on the 18th of October following, was advanced to the rank of captain into the Alcmene, having been on the commanders' list only five months; but he remained in the sloop till the 9th of May, 1783, when he resigned the command of her to Commander Bentinck.

He then joined the Alcmene at St. John's, Antigua, when the following entry appears in her log :—"Came on board Captain William Sidney Smith, whose commission was publicly read to the ship's company, on account of his being appointed captain, in lieu of the late Captain Douglas."

He remained in the West Indies until the 21st of January, 1784, when he sailed from Barbadoes, and arrived at Spithead on the 25th of February; proceeded to Woolwich, and paid off the ship.

The following letter addressed to his father, within a

month or two of his appointment as lieutenant of the Alcide, will be read as a promising production from a youth of sixteen:—

[Copy.]

"At Sea, November 20th, 1780. Alcide.

"DEAR FATHER,

"After having the lower deck ports barred-in these four days, on account of the bad weather, the water is smooth enough to-day to get the aftermost port (where my cabin is) hauled up. I have hung up all my wet things to dry all round me, and now sit down to lay the keel of a letter to you. The date of my last, by the Yarmouth, is the 8th of this month; on the 10th we sailed from before New York with the whole fleet to Sandy-Hook; the Charon and Hussar arrived with a fleet from England; on the 15th we weighed with the whole fleet, and went over the bar to sea, with the Yarmouth and convoy for England, and convoy for Charles-Town. On the night of the 16th, about two o'clock, a *terrible* gale of wind came on, faster than we could get our sails furled; it carried away our fore and main topmasts, part of the fore-top and fore-yard, killed two men, and wounded several others; the next morning we could see nothing of the fleet, the wreck beating alongside; the ship (from her ports and upper works) making as much water as we can clear her of with four chain-pumps, the wind (as it luckily was) driving us *along* shore, if it had come more to the S. E. we must all have gone *on* shore, and of course *inevitably* have perished; but it is all over now. We, the day before yesterday, joined Commodore

Sir Chaloner Ogle in the Resolution, in the same condition as ourselves; the Triton frigate is in sight, *all standing*. We have passed by the Torbay with main-topmast gone, and a brig-tender without her foremast; we are now running under a jury fore-sail, nine knots, towards a fine weather country. I have now brought you up to the present hour, and am not sorry that I have done, for she rolls so, that my ink is spilled, and my wrist aches.

"Thursday 7th, off St. Lucia. I yesterday received a joint letter from Jack and you, dated Ottershaw, 2nd of October, and to-day two more, one 2nd of August, and the other the 5th of September. By them I find you have received letters from me, but you do not mention the dates of them, or the ships under whose convoy they came, so I do not yet know whether you have received my mother's letter by the Cerberus, or a letter by the Preston and Boyne. I shall now begin where I left off, and shall afterwards answer your letters as they lie before me; I wish either you or Jack would do the same by mine, for there are many questions unanswered. At the same time remember that your *hand-writing only* raises my spirits, as mine does your's.

"Well, after the 20th as above, nothing remarkable but one continued *roll* even in the trades. On the 1st of December, (now look at your red pocket-book,) in company with the Resolution and Triton, we crossed the tropic of Cancer, which makes the third time this year, a curious way of travelling. On the fourth we sent the Triton in chase of a brig, which she took, (*we* share,) loaded with fish and lumber, valuable

here. About ten in the forenoon we anchored at Barbadoes, when lo! and behold! we find that in our absence this *fine-weather* country, as I have called it, has been turned topsy-turvy by a hurricane and earthquake, worse than all our American gales put together; Bridgetown is in ruins, and if we inquire for anybody we knew, they are either buried in the ruins or drowned. What is very remarkable, the Greyhound who sailed with the packet from New York, to see her clear of the coast, escaped the American gale, and did not arrive in the West-Indies till after the hurricane, so that she had an even pleasant breeze. If she had been here she would probably have shared the fate of the rest of our poor frigates and the Egmont. The Andromeda, 28 guns, and 200 men, foundered; Laurel, 28 guns, and 200 men, foundered; Beaver's Prize, 20 guns, and 160 men, foundered; La Blanche, 220 men, and 32 guns, foundered; Camelion, 16 guns, and 125 men, foundered; Endymion, 40 guns, and 350 men, foundered; Deal-Castle, Captain Hawkins, 20 guns, and 160 men, foundered; Egmont, 74 guns, and 600 men, gone to the bottom. I feel worse now than when I saw the St. Domingo blow up. We weighed from Barbadoes to-day, and are running in with St. Lucia, where I suppose *we* shall stay, whatever the fleet may do. Those ships that are with us are in good condition compared to us, the Torbay and Shrewsbury are the only two missing.

"Now for your letters: I wish every body that calls Sir George Rodney's temper and *judgment* in question had been in the fleet those thirteen days, to windward of Martinique, in *chase* of the enemy's superior fleet;

they often bore down, and would have engaged if they could have taken advantage of a wrong manœuvre.

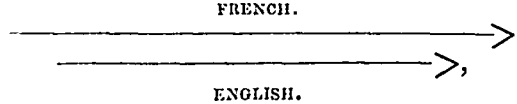
"My chance for going home is this, the ship I am in at present is coppered, so the wooden-bottomed ships will go home first with convoys; after that our chance for coming home depends upon the captain's application; he does not wish it, but rather to go down to Jamaica, which is as healthy a station, and far more plentiful as to refreshments, and profitable as to prizes. My staying out does not retard my confirmation; the date of my present *parchment* commission is 25th of September, 1780, this can be confirmed through Captain Middleton, who has been so good as to interest himself about me.

"Any books you think proper can be packed up in a box, and sent by any officer of a man-of-war that you are acquainted with; be sure to send me out some newspapers in return for *my* news, that I may know what *you* are doing, and how you like what *we* do. Our present fleet consists of fourteen sail of the line, all coppered but two, which have been hove down, and are clean. The French have four sail of the line and two forties, we shall perhaps meet with them, if they have not heard of Sir George's arrival and gone in.

"Sir George Rodney only wanted reminding that there was such a person as me, for he no sooner was told I was arrived in the Greyhound, than he packed me off on board the Alcide, going out on a *profitable* cruize; as for his giving me a command, I am too young; besides he has more upon his list than he is likely to provide for in that way; *perhaps* he may recollect, in answer to my being too young, when he thinks of

it, that I am as old as, and have been to sea much longer than, his son, who is a post-captain; he is very whimsical, and such a *whim* may take him, if he was reminded by somebody else besides me.

"My answer to what you tell me about losing her time with a sixty-gun ship is this:—the admiral meant to attack the enemy's centre; their line was superior to ours; when the lines were in this direction,



he made the signal for each to bear down to engage his opponent, and as an example, bore down to his opposite sixty-gun ship, and banged her and another out of the line. Instead of our headmost ship bearing down to his *opposite,* he made sail for the headmost ship in the enemy's line, contrary to the admiral's signal, intention, and example. All hands, bring ship to an anchor.—Adieu.

"Sunday, 10th of December, 1780.—We are now all in Grosilet Bay, and as I have just heard a packet is going to England, I sit down to put a period. In the first place, the French are in Port Royal Bay, and if, when we were running down here, we had stood a little further to the northward, we should have seen a French convoy, all of which are now anchored safe in Port Royal. We are refitting here; the Resolution stayed at Barbadoes; the Montague is in the careenage,—she lost her masts here in the hurricane; the Egmont was close to her, with her hold unstowed, ballast and casks upon deck; they both drove out together; the Montague did not see her go down. This

island is strangely altered; coming in here we struck upon a bank that never was here before; we were fast about ten minutes. Love to the people.

"Your dutiful son,

(Signed) "WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH."

[Copy.]

"Sandwich, December 23rd, 1780.

"DEAR FATHER,

"I am just come upon duty on board the Sandwich. Mr. Paget tells me there is a private floating thing of some kind or other going to England. He desires me to sit down in the office, and give his compliments, &c., &c., to you. Mr. Paget is hurrying me on, so I have only time to tell you, that on the 13th we sailed from this place with ten sail of the line and frigates, marines of the fleet and troops on board the men-of-war, 120 men. We landed on the 16th upon the island of St. Vincent's; we found the French troops strongly situated upon a hill within a fort. Our light infantry and grenadiers got half way up the hill that night, had a little skirmish with a party of Caribs, the original inhabitants of the island, mixed with a formidable, desperate, and inveterate enemy to the English, on account of some dispute, or rather ill-usage, concerning their lands, which you must recollect and know better than me. I was on shore in the boats, landing the men, and had 100 well-trained seamen under my command, ready to land the next morning.—Every ship had the same. When morning came, instead of orders to *land*, we received orders

to *embark* the troops with all possible expedition (a thunderbolt.) We got them all off the island before twelve on the 17th, without molestation, and left the island, the Caribs, headed by the French lieutenant-governor, murdering in the most shocking manner every English man, woman, and child, and burning their houses. I was among the last boats that came off, and left the beach covered with them and their negroes, crying to be taken off; many we did take off. We are now watering in Choque.

"Your dutiful son,

"W. S. S."

CHAPTER II.

RESIDENCE AT CAEN.—VISITS CHERBOURG AND DESCRIBES THE PROCESS OF PLACING THE CONES.—PROCEEDS TO GIBRALTAR AND GALLICIA.

1785—1788.

Captain Sidney Smith now resolved to set out on his travels, for the purpose, as he himself says, "of further qualifying himself for his country's service." In the Alcmene he had little or no employment, her services not being much required in time of peace, and this was not a condition of life at all suited to his constitution and feelings, which urged him on to a state of mental and personal activity—to acquire knowledge of men and manners, and make himself acquainted with foreign languages.

His first visit was to Caen in Normandy, where he remained about two years; a place where, at that time, many of the first families of France were in the habit of taking up their residence; and it was here, no doubt, that he gained that perfect knowledge of the French language which he possessed in so remarkable a manner.

How he passed his time at Caen will be best told by himself, as we find it stated in the following letters addressed to his brother:

"Dear Charles, "Caen, June 1785.

"I sent off a letter to-day, 25th, and, according to promise, I now go on with what I had not room

to say there. In the first place, you are not to suppose I had forgotten you during my absence from Caen. The truth is, I began two different letters, but being uncomfortable at an inn, tired, and neither pen nor paper fit to give vent to my ideas as fast as they came, I made such a chaos, that they would have been unintelligible to you, as they were even to me.

"Now to begin, as far back as before my late journey. I have already described my *pension* (boarding-house), I visited all the people in the town, as is the custom for a stranger to do; and they went not an inch further than the custom, for having returned my visit, I heard no more of them; so I remained totally without evening society, except my landlady's circle which not being quite *comme il faut*, I generally preferred my books. At last the Duc d'Harcourt arrived. I delivered my letter at his crowded levee, and received an invitation to visit him at Harcourt, where he should have it more in his power to shew me civility. This reception was everything I could wish, in the eyes of beholders; and he repeated his invitation by two messages, one by his head-servant, the other by a gentleman. The next day he reviewed the regiment, and, in passing the line, stopped some minutes to speak to Captain Dalrymple and me, who were standing in front of the centre,—a mark of distinction he bestowed upon nobody else. He afterwards took us to the spot where he intended to stand, when the regiment marched by him, which second instance, you see, proved his attention to be more than mere form.

"I visited him at his château (Harcourt), five leagues from hence, and then got better acquainted with him,

and found his heart as good as his behaviour was affable. It was written in every peasant's countenance, how pleased they were to see him returned among them; and the hat was pulled off in a manner which indicated something more than mere respect.

"The duke has broken through the French regular rules of gardening, in parterres and terraces, for the English way, following nature, and destroying a straight line with as much abhorrence as Queen Mary did a Protestant; giving as a reason, that if every one follows the *nature* of his ground, every man has an original. Madame la duchesse was there; she receives *les dames* from all the country round, and for as long as they choose; so there is always *beaucoup de monde* there; and I got so well acquainted with the Caen party, as to be invited since to their supper parties, so that I have lately been so much under obligation to speak French, that I am no longer distressed to express myself on any subject; and they are polite and charitable enough to listen with attention without laughing at my Anglicisms. My pronunciation is allowed to be perfect, for which I always thank my mother; and I understand whatever is said to me. This progress, you may suppose, begins to make my hours of relaxation more pleasant.

"The duke commanded at Havre de Grace, when we were cruizing off with Commodore Johnston, so we of course talked over our different hopes and fears on that occasion, which is a pleasure worth all pain, and which I have experienced very often lately, as you will see when I come to my *tour;* scarce a day passing but I dined in company with some officer against whom I

have been engaged more than once; one of them the son of Mons. de Guichen, who was in his ship, when engaged with the Sandwich on the 17th of April; he is still a garde de marine, or midshipman, though older than I am; so they suppose I must be a bishop of marines, or at least related to one, to be so far advanced so young.

"But to finish with the château d'Harcourt; it is rather more modern than the time when every baron defended himself; and though that state of things terminated with them long before it did with us, that which succeeded seems still to exist, and I could easily fancy myself two hundred years back while I was there.

"The great hall, in which we dined, is surrounded with family pictures larger than life, of knights in armour on horseback;—*les vassaux*, as they call the peasants, attending with complaints, to be decided by *le seigneur;* and many other circumstances, so like what has existed, but has ceased to exist with us. I don't know what progress the arts may have made at Paris, but in Normandy, every piece of household furniture is a most mis-shapen old-fashioned thing. The work of the ladies is still the making of a chair-seat with worsted, on a piece of coarse thin canvas, which, when finished, looks something worse than a piece of Wilton carpet. *Apropos* to carpet, there is not such a thing in France. The bed-chambers are all paved, except a suite of rooms (whose only use seems to be to walk through) which are boarded with oak in squares, neatly enough, and dry rubbed; so that previous to a dance I was at lately, they were obliged to wet the floor with a mop (I beg pardon, there is

not such a thing in France), a hair-broom. This same dance occurred upon a fête given to the colonel of the regiment, and as the Duc d'Harcourt spoke to him particularly about me, desiring him to introduce me, he was very anxious and punctual in his visits and messages, as I found on my return, which was but just in time. There I fell in love with a *démoiselle*, whose name I do not know. I was told it was *Tourville*, a grand-daughter of the admiral's, which would have been curious enough; but I have since seen Mademoiselle Tourville, and it was not her. You see I let the heart go as it will—as to the judgment, Englishmen are famous here, to a proverb, for its government of their actions, (so said the lady to Sterne, at Calais,) and it will never let me *marry* a Frenchwoman, as her connections and *acres* are concomitants, neither of which a *capitaine de vaisseau Anglois* ought to have any business with. I shall probably see my mistress to-night where I sup, in consequence of an invitation, produced by Le Duc d'Harcourt's desire, *au colonel du regiment*.

"And now for more advantages which I have received from the *honnêteté de monseigneur*. All the world here talk of the great works going on at Cherbourg, which are nothing less than building a breakwater two miles and a half from the shore. His most Christian majesty having found the want of a port in the channel, in the late war, fit for the reception of large ships, is determined to make one at any expense, and it will cost immensely; and if I have any judgment as to the force of water, perhaps fail after all. The Duc d'Harcourt being there, and having expressed

himself that he had no objection to us English seeing it—I went thither, and the day after, two more English captains of men-of-war arrived from Caen on the same errand; as, on the 7th of the month, one of the wooden frames called cones, (from their form,) was to be sunk. Monsieur le duc received us most politely, desired us to consider ourselves engaged to him while we stayed, and conducted us to the place where these frames are constructed, about half-tide mark on the beach. They are circular, 150 feet diameter at bottom, 60 feet high, and diminishing from their conical form to 60 feet diameter at the top; built as strong as a ship, except that worse wood is considered to answer the purpose. The next morning at eight o'clock, it was high water, spring-tide, when one of these cones was floated by means of empty casks, which had been lashed round its base at low water. We embarked with monsieur le duc, and attended it as it was conducted (I am sorry to add, in a very seaman-like manner,) to the place where it was to be sunk in a line with the two already placed. In comparison with the vessels which surrounded it, (one of which was Wells's Raven,) it looked like a floating island. We mounted one of the other cones, and had a fine view of its *enfoncement*, which was performed by their cutting the casks away, two or four at a time, on opposite sides, by means of a chopper suspended over the lashings like a pile driver, wind and weather being favourable. The whole of this operation succeeded to admiration, and it now remains to be filled with stones, as the one was on which we stood. The small vessels threw in their first cargoes immediately,

which, as its contents are 50,000 tons, had not more effect than a handful in a bushel. It will take about five weeks to fill it, and you may easily conceive, that if a gale of wind should come on before it is full, the wood-work above the stones will have no more chance to stand against the violence of the waves, than the wreck of a ship does: one *has* been half destroyed in this manner, so will others probably, considering the difficulties and immensity of the work, which is nothing less than moving a mountain piece-meal, and carrying it a league into the sea. 'Tis a most tremendous undertaking, and, without a compliment to my friends the French, a work *digne des Romains*. I am extremely glad I have seen it, as you may suppose, and particularly with the advantage of the protection of the governor of Normandie, and commander-in-chief *pour sa majesté*, which I find I have omitted to tell you the Duc d'Harcourt is.

"I did not stay to see the launching of a second; not to tire monsieur le duc, who, I fear, put himself out of his way in some things by his attention to us. I stayed, however, one day longer than my brother officers, perhaps to evince my independence of them. This I passed very pleasantly with the French naval officers established at the port, *contre qui j'ai combattu, et avec qui j'ai fait connoissance.* The commandant also was very civil, and we compared notes on a certain afternoon in which he amused himself with firing on the Unicorn and Quebec. That cruize I formed the resolution, if ever I had the opportunity, to visit those parts of this coast made remarkable to us by any such event, and that opportunity being now

come, I would not let it slip. Besides, Wraxall's Tour had raised a curiosity to see Mont St. Michel. Though you may have read it, I desire you will send to Barratt's directly, and read all the first pages. You will find there my history, for I did everything he did, in better language than I could write it. I shall proceed therefore to the anecdotes which make the difference, and to do it more completely, I will begin my journey from Caen, which will be unintelligible to you, unless Barratt can furnish you with a *carte du pays*, or a sight of one.

"You know I have a thing called a cabriolet. which I believe I have already described as extremely like that in which Gil Blas and Scipio, or Dr. Sangrado (I forget which) performed a journey. In *this*, however, I did *not* go, but sacrificed the ease of that conveyance to my pocket. I must have had three horses to drag myself and servant, so I took two to ride. I was sheathed with Mr. Brown's leather; and so far from repenting my scheme, found it much more pleasant, as I was at liberty to go out of the common road, to look at an old tower, or any thing remarkable. The horses went under the appellation of *chevaux quittés*, because you go without a conductor, and leave them where you take the others. I was told I should find them extremely hard, and so I should if I had not learned to ride in England, and thereby practise what nobody here has the least idea of, that is, rising in the stirrups, for they bump it along like so many old women going to market.

"The first town I passed through was Bayeux, famous only for its cathedral, it being the see and residence of

the bishop of this diocese, which includes Caen, where he has a palace, but never resides,—luckily for us, as we have the use of his garden, into which my windows look. I slept at Bayeux, and set off at four o'clock the next morning. Having the whole day before me, I could not resist the temptation a fine day offered, to visit my element, the sea, which was but two leagues to the right. I rode along the edge of the cliffs to the westward, which though not so high as Albion's, gave a noble view as far as La Hogue on one side, and very near to Havre de Grace on the other. I joined the great road again before I reached Isigny, crossed the Petit Vey, and dined at Carantan, after a wetting and a ride of eleven leagues. Notwithstanding the rain, I walked to the church to pay my respects to Wraxall's St. Cecilia. I found nothing of the enthusiastic in her air, it was more coquettish, and I grudged the walk exceedingly, which Mr. Wraxall's descriptive powers had cost me. I went on to Valognes in the afternoon, seven leagues further. The first part of the road was extremely like the Bath road through Berkshire, low-land to the left, terminating in a high ridge. Valognes has nothing remarkable; it once occupied more ground than at present, having been a flourishing Roman colony, as is proved by the amphitheatre, which has lately been found in digging. Next morning I arrived at Cherbourg in very good time. You know my history there.

"The Duc d'Harcourt, understanding my intention to return *en cercle par Mont St. Michel*, recommended me to go on as far as St. Malo, and gave me a letter to the commandant. I left Cherbourg in the afternoon,

slept at Valognes, and appropriated the next day to what you would not have forgiven me, if I had not done, being in the neighbourhood. I went to La Hogue,* there to read Admiral Russell's letter, which I brought with me in a volume of Campbell's Admirals, from Caen, in the hopes of being able to do this very thing. I found nobody alive who remembered anything about *le brûlement*, as they called it, though I was told of one old woman who was old enough to have been alive then. Everybody's father was there, and served in such a battery, but I could get no certain account from them where King James was encamped, and Campbell does not lead to that at all. They pointed out where the wrecks are still visible at very low spring tides, and the fishing for iron is even now a profitable employment; they are between the island of Tatihou and La Hogue Point, before the village of St. Vaas. I had read somewhere that the place from whence King James beheld the action was a

* On the 17th of May, Admiral Russell discovered the French fleet, under Count Tourville, off Cape La Hogue, and immediately engaged them; but so thick a fog came on, that, for two or three days, nothing effectual could be done. On clearing upon the 22nd, the French were seen moving off: Russell pursued Tourville. Tourville ran ashore and cut away his masts, and two others followed him. The body of the fleet in the evening stood into La Hogue: the admiral ordered Sir George Rooke to follow with fire-ships, and all the boats well manned to destroy them; but they had got so far up the bay that none but small frigates and boats could advance near enough. Sir George ordered every boat to be manned and to board the enemy; and so terrified were the French, that, as our brave fellows entered on one side, the French crowded out on the other. The result was, that, with the ships destroyed in the bay, and half a dozen of which Russell gave an account outside, the loss of the enemy was two ships of 104 guns and fourteen others of the line from 90 to 60 guns.

kind of natural amphitheatre formed by the hills. I found a spot which answered this description, and flatter myself it was the very place; it is out of gunshot to the southward of the wrecks, but commands a fine view of all that could have passed. I could easily fill up the picture with the lively objects of ships on fire and explosions, as I am pretty well acquainted with their appearance; and, as Wraxall says, "felt that pleasure, which is natural to a thinking mind, at being on a spot famous for any historical event," mixed however, with a painful sensation, at the idea of what King James must have felt, on seeing all his hopes vanish in thick clouds of smoke. I returned to Valognes that night, and arrived at Coutances early the next evening, and had the same view from the tower, at the setting of the sun, that Wraxall mentions. Next day dined at Granville; and knowing the geography of the country, instead of going round eighteen leagues by land, I took a passage by water, in a fishing-boat, of five leagues to Cancale. The master was at Cancale, at our *brûlement*, with Sir James Wallace, and I had two fellow passengers, seamen, who had been in the action of the 12th of April. You may suppose I set them a going, and was highly entertained and amused with their different accounts. As it was late before the tide would let us leave Granville, it was near ten o'clock at night before we arrived, fine smooth water, and moonlight. My new friends piloted me to the *auberge*, stormed the people up, got some fire in a *sabot*, and I insisted that we should all sit down together to eat broiled mackarel, the only thing the house produced. They seemed mightily pleased, and

were very anxious to know who I was, which was the only thing in which I did not choose to satisfy them. English, and a seaman, was all they could make out. I paid the reckoning, and had a very good night's rest in a good bed, which the meanest house in France always has, with linen bleached very white. The next morning before I set off for St. Malo I took a walk, with my fisherman as a conductor, to see the marks of our bullets in the rocks and houses. We talked over the whole business very good-humouredly, and he told me he sold forty of our shot for twelve sous a-piece, an illustration of the proverb, "'Tis an ill wind that blows nobody any good." I will give you the rest of my history in another letter. This has imperceptibly spun to such a length, that the post hour is come without my having written to my mother; therefore I beg you to read this to her. Adieu.

"Affectionately yours,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"August 2nd, 1785.

"DEAR CHARLES,

"I took up my pen the other day to finish the account of my tour to you, but having received a letter from my mother, and feeling I had not written to her a long while, it turned into a letter to her. It contained a prescription for your bilious complaint, should you have a return. I have since received your's of July 15th, acknowledging my two last. Now for Cancale.

"I landed, as I told you, at ten o'clock at night. My fellow-passengers in the fishing-boat were 12th of

April Frenchmen, and Cancale *defendants* when we attacked their territories with Sir James Wallace. At the head of these troops I stormed an *auberge*, the good landlady of which, after some defence, surrendered at discretion. We gave *her* quarter, but none to her mackerel (the only thing we found in the house); one of the men brought some fire in a wooden shoe, with which we soon made the chimney roar, and boiled and ate away all together. I paid the piper of course, after talking over old stories, and then went to bed, leaving my new friends to puzzle their brains at what such a mixture of *milord Anglais* and *matelot*, common as I was, could be. My bed was very good, and to my great surprise the sheets whiter bleached than I had met with elsewhere; and I have since observed that the poorest house in France is not without a great stock of household linen.

"Next morning I was conducted by one of my Cancale *quondam* enemies to the different places famous in the combat. He had picked up forty round shot, and in the windmill, which I remember amusing myself with firing at, (at our gun, as the Jacks say,) "'tis an ill wind that blows nobody any good," for he sold them as old iron for twelve sous apiece afterwards. There were also certain round holes in the window-shutters and doors of the houses, and my attentive examination and English appearance, proved my having had some hand in the making of them; so the old women, who had not forgotten the fright and flight they were put into, began to shew their implacability of temper with their tongues; I therefore mounted my horse to be ready to make my retreat good, in case they should be

inclined to pelt me with oyster shells, by way of epilogue to the piece that was played six years before. If the action had commenced I should have had all the men on my side I saw, and perhaps some of the *young* women might not have been hard-hearted to a stranger; however, we parted very good-humouredly, and I went to St. Maloes.

"I had an official letter to the commandant from the Duc d'Harcourt, which procured me a very gracious reception, and I found contained a desire that I might be shewn everything, by the commandant's promise, *de me conduire le lendemain.* I spent three military days there and at St. Servan's, where our troops were in 1758, with the officers of *le régiment de Beauce*, some of whom were in the 12th of April. Whenever they make the conversation turn on that subject, which they do in France much oftener than you would suppose, I always get into a scrape, not by abusing them, you may believe, but from defending De Grasse as a brave man. This is not the fashion, but I hope it is the only unfashionable thing I do. There is generally one poor solitary man in the company who has defended him, till he has been so often overpowered by numbers, that his edge is taken off, and I enjoy the pleasure of seeing him recover and go into action again, reinforced with the ammunition of my facts: I leave the acrimony to him.

"I saw with pleasure the inside of those batteries at St. Maloes, which had so often pelted us when we appeared off with Commodore Johnston; and having examined the spot where the famous infernal machine blew up, in the attempt made in 1693, I felt I had

nothing more to see there, and set off to perform my intention of going over Wraxall's footsteps at Mont St. Michel. The commandant of St. Maloes, understanding my intention, furnished me with an official letter to the commander there, who is the prior of the abbey of Benedictine monks, and another officer gave me a letter to one of the monks, who was formerly an *officer of dragoons* in the same regiment with him. I refer you to Wraxall for a description of the cage, &c. They are repairing the church. My letters procured me a most hospitable reception; they would not suffer me to sleep at the *auberge*, but gave me a most excellent old-fashioned room and a bed, which I will flatter myself was the bed of Henry I. of England, when he was besieged there. I lived with *messieurs les moines* two days, dining and supping *au réfectoire*, and on the best cheer that I ever desire to meet with. From thence I rode to Caen, twenty four leagues in one day. I have since been to Harcourt, and carried Jack, who arrived here on the 15th. Monsieur le duc furnished me with a horse, and I enjoyed a most pleasant stag-hunt for the first time in my life. He is gone to Cherbourg again, with madame la duchesse, and does not return till the middle of September; so I fear he will not be here when you and Manners come. I need not tell you how glad I shall be to see you. If you have a military coat you cannot wear a better here, when dressed.

"A large sheet of paper is charged a double letter in France. Adieu."

In 1787, Captain Sidney Smith appears to have gone

to Gibraltar, and to the Mediterranean; and in January 1788, he applied to the admiralty for one year's further leave of absence, "to remain with H. M. squadron, on that station," but returned to England in September following.

While at Gibraltar, with a view to gain some information of the dominions of the Emperor of Morocco, he performed a journey through that country, and volunteered his services in the event of a war breaking out. The following is a copy of the letter which he addressed to the secretary of the admiralty.

"Tuy, in Gallicia, April 30th, 1788.

"SIR,

"I beg you will lay before my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that in the month of May last, being at Gibraltar, and a witness to the Emperor of Morocco's unreasonable demands and imperious language, I judged a war with him to be not far distant, and therefore undertook a journey through his dominions, in order to acquire a knowledge of his coasts, harbours, and force, so as to be of use in case of such an event taking place; this knowledge so acquired seems now to be called for by the Emperor of Morocco's having ordered his cruizers to be in readiness, if not actually to capture British vessels. I am, therefore, on my return to England in the earnest hope that their lordships will enable me to employ it to advantage in the protection of our trade, by giving me the command of a force adequate to the destruction of his inconsiderable naval force, even in his harbours. It consists of only seven frigates and three row galleys, independent of what

adventurers may have joined him from the other Barbary states, and what prizes he may have taken and armed. I conceive the trade within the Straits of Gibraltar to be sufficiently protected by the squadron already in the Mediterranean; the chief danger lies from the ports of Laraiche, Salee, Mogadore, and Santa Cruz, *towards the Atlantic*, and a single squadron cannot perform both services of guarding *within* and *without* the Straits, because of the uncertainty and frequent impossibility of passing the gut when bound outwards.

"A second separate squadron, therefore, to rendezvous and refit in Lagos Bay, appears necessary, which in my opinion need not consist of more than a fifty gun ship, six frigates and sloops, and some small vessels; these latter should be of a similar construction to the emperor's galleys, as they will otherwise be likely to annoy our trade with impunity, from the difficulty of getting at them in calm seas and shoal harbours, which the frigates cannot approach, such as Arzilla, Mahmora, Enfifac and Azamore; besides these Laraiche, Salee, and Mogadore are the ports where his greatest force commonly assembles; the two former being bar-harbours are very difficult of access to an enemy, as well on account of the shoals as the good disposition of their batteries, which the French in their late expedition experienced to their cost; the latter (Mogadore,) not being a bar-harbour is more easy of access, and, though fortified by a wall and protected by a greater *number* of guns, their injudicious position and distribution render it by no means impregnable to such a force as I have named above, if in such a position as I should

hope to be able to place it, and aided by the disembarkation of such a detachment of troops as Gibraltar could easily furnish.

"The forty-four gun ships, lately fitted as transports, appear to me a proper sort of ship for this service, from their weight of metal, their room, and their draught of water not being greater than the depth in those situations, which I sounded when there, and which then appeared the most favourable for such a design; besides this, their establishment, being that of a sloop, obviates the difficulty there might otherwise be of finding officers young enough to serve under the command of so young a one as I am; I hope their lordships will not consider this my inferiority of rank as an obstacle to grant me the honour I request, but rather trust that what I want, in professional experience and ability, will be made up by *local* knowledge and zeal for the public service; at the same time that they will pardon me, if that zeal carries me too far in thus making the proposition and offer of myself.

"I have the honour to be

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"Secretary of the Admiralty."

PREFATORY NOTICE.

THE three following chapters relating to the affairs of Sweden, during her campaign with Russia, are copied from a MS. drawn up by Sir Sidney Smith and in his own hand-writing, apparently as if prepared for publication, but so deeply stained yellow in most parts, and so burnt in others, (either altogether or partially) as to be frequently illegible; so that it was no easy task to preserve the narrative entire; but having undertaken this work, I set out upon it with a resolution to let Sir Sidney tell his own story, as far as it was possible, in his own words.

These Swedish manuscripts were among "the most valuable papers of Sir Sidney that were destroyed by fire in London many years ago,"—as I am informed by the most intimate and attached friend he had through life, and who is still in existence. This friend adds, "these papers had been left at Camelford house by Sir Sidney, in care of the late Lord Grenville,—and when Lord Grenville sold Camelford house to the Princess Charlotte, for her residence, at the time of her marriage with Prince Leopold, all the papers of Sir Sidney (several cases) were transferred to the premises of an upholsterer, in Henrietta-street, Cavendish-square, which premises were subsequently destroyed by fire.

Some of the papers were saved—and those papers which I last sent to you had been so saved.

"The loss of that mass of papers was unfortunate, as they related to the most important part of Sir Sidney's life; and among them was an immense mass of correspondence with the leading political men of all countries."

CHAPTER III.

1789—1790.

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE LEAVE TO SERVE IN SWEDEN.—ON THE APPLICATION OF KING GUSTAVUS, AND OF THE DUKE OF SUDERMANIA, HE DETERMINES TO VISIT THAT COUNTRY.

In the year 1789, Captain Sidney Smith appears to have applied to the admiralty for six months leave of absence to proceed to Stockholm and St. Petersburgh, adding, that it was not with the intention of entering into any foreign service. At the end of this year, however, he writes from Stockholm, for an extension of his leave for twelve months; but in January, 1790, in consequence of a letter from the King of Sweden, offering him service, he returned to England, with the view of obtaining permission at home.

The letter from the king was as follows :—

"Haga, January 17th, 1790.

"Colonel* Sidney Smith,

"The great reputation you have acquired in serving your own country with equal success and valour, and the profound calm which England enjoys, not affording you any opportunity to display your talents at present, induce me to propose to you to enter into my service,

* Colonel is the only term by which the rank of post-captain in the British navy can be compared, as corresponding with the similar rank in Sweden.

during this war, and principally for the approaching campaign.

"To offer you the same rank and appointments, which you enjoy in your own country, is only to offer you what you have a right to expect; but to offer you opportunities of distinguishing yourself anew, and of augmenting your reputation, by making yourself known in these northern seas as the *élève* of Rodney, Pigot, Howe, and Hood, is, I believe, to offer you a situation worthy of them and of yourself, which you will not resist, and the means of acquitting yourself towards your masters in the art of war, by extending their reputation, and the estimate they are already held in here.

"I have destined a particular command for you, if you accept my offer, concerning which I will explain myself more in detail when I have your definitive answer.

"I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

"Yours very affectionate,

"GUSTAVUS."

This offer was too tempting to Captain Sidney Smith "to resist;" and as it happened that a confidential person was required, by our minister in Stockholm, to convey to London the duplicate of some dispatches, of the originals of which a courier had been robbed, Sidney volunteered to be the bearer of them, in order that he might personally obtain permission to accept the offer made to him by the King of Sweden.

On taking leave of the king, his majesty in conversation entered very minutely into all his reasons for carrying on the war, and his situation as to finances, and he informed Sidney that he would, probably, have op-

portunities of communicating with the ministry in England, and was desirous that he should be able to speak with confidence as to the state of affairs in the north. "Thus, unexpectedly and unsought for by me," says Captain Smith, "I became charged with a direct message from the King of Sweden to the British cabinet," a memorial having been put into his hands of the substance of the conversation.

The Duke of Sudermania, the brother of the king, expressed his strongest desire that Sidney Smith should leave nothing untried to obtain leave to serve, and wrote to him the following very friendly letter on the occasion :—

FROM HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUDERMANIA TO CAPTAIN SIDNEY SMITH.

"Stockholm, January 18th, 1790.

"My dear Friend,

"I have just learnt that the king has offered you the command of the light squadron. This news gives me the greatest pleasure, for two reasons; first, I am happy to have an able, skilful, and experienced man at the head of this department, uniting those qualities with the desire to do good, without attending to those interested individuals who ever annex their own private interests to military affairs, which is altogether to be found in you. And the second cause of my satisfaction is what regards me more particularly, for you know one would rather serve with a friend than an indifferent person; and, as the two fleets will ever be in situations mutually to require each other's assistance, it will be more agreeable to me to have to do

with one, to whom I am particularly attached, than with one not so well known to me.

"I am sorry, however, that this should occasion your precipitate departure. I offer up the most sincere prayers for your return, and that the king, your master, will please to give his consent to my desires.

"As you have no carriage fit for your journey, I have given orders to my equerry to offer you a light and convenient one; see if it will suit you, or choose which you please among those I have. I write this without ceremony. Between friends one does not stand on such things.

"Return as quick as you can, and bring some of your brave Englishmen with you, for we stand in need of officers. I shall offer up my prayers that your journey may be fortunate, and without accident, and I hope that that Being, who watched over you in your little boat, will do the same this time, and bring you in good health to the arms of your friends, among whom I beg you ever to reckon me.

"I desire you will present my respects to the King, and my compliments to the Prince of Wales. From what you have told me of the Prince, I am desirous some day to make his acquaintance. * * *

"I need not give you new assurances of the interest I take in everything which concerns you. When I have once given my friendship, it is for life, and this sentiment will rest eternally in my heart, being yours for ever. "CHARLES,

"*Duke of Sudermania.*"

"To Mr. Sidney Smith, Colonel in the service of His Majesty the King of England."

The sequel will shew how bitterly Sidney Smith must have been disappointed in the bright prospects he may have formed of a flattering reception on his arrival in England.

"With these grand objects in view, I left Stockholm," he says, "flattering myself, that as I was the bearer of the most authentic and recent intelligence from the north, so I should be an acceptable and welcome messenger. On my arrival, however, I found, by my reception, that I had been egregiously mistaken, since it was with difficulty that I obtained even the least degree of attention. This was, of course, a great disappointment to me, which I felt the more, considering the exertion and dispatch I had made on the journey from Stockholm, and the shock my health had suffered by travelling night and day in open carriages, in the worst season of the year."

After some time, he succeeded in obtaining an audience of the Duke of Leeds, who gave him a "patient hearing," but could give no answer till the whole had been laid before the cabinet council. Fearing to be too importunate on the subject, Captain Sidney Smith made up his mind to wait patiently, feeling that to return to Sweden, without an answer from the government, would convey a more absolute refusal than could be meant.

"At the end of six weeks, I ventured to represent by letter, with all respect, that the most unqualified negative could not be more unpalatable to the King of Sweden, or more prejudicial to his majesty's affairs, than this delay must be. To this, I received no answer whatever, and I had occasion to observe that

this application I had made was considered as very unbecoming impatience in me."

Failing to obtain even a tacit permission to accept the command offered to him—he deemed it to be but common decency to make some communication to the King of Sweden, and accordingly wrote to his majesty, declining his most gracious offer, in order that he might fill up the vacancy reserved for him; at the same time expressing his intention of returning to Sweden, and of making use of his majesty's permission to accompany his standard, "that he might at least witness the exertions he was about to make, and profit by the experience he could not but gain by it." Besides, he says, "I had promised my friend, the Duke of Sudermania, not to abandon him in the days of trial and danger which the arduous work before him must produce; even though I could not assist him effectually as his second, or in a more ostensible situation than that of a volunteer and his private friend.

"Anxious still to ascertain whether I might not yet be the bearer of the joyful news, that assistance would be afforded from the allies, I waited till it was evident that there was no such intention; and as nothing was done till the spring advanced, I saw that if I did not set off forthwith, I should be too late for the opening of the campaign."

Captain Sidney Smith now communicated to the ministers his intention of making use of his unexpired admiralty leave of absence, and offered to carry out any dispatches they might wish to send to Sweden. This produced a letter from the Duke of Leeds, "evidently meant to be more polite than satisfactory,

thanking me for the offer of carrying despatches, but declining it."

Being thus set at liberty, Sidney Smith took his passage for the Baltic in the first vessel that offered; and after a series of violent and contrary winds, arrived at Carlscrona, from whence he addressed the following letter to Mr. Liston, the British minister at Stockholm.

"Carlscrona, May 9th, 1790.

"DEAR SIR,

"Having been detained in England, by a most hard-hearted easterly wind, above a month after I had the Duke of Leeds's final dismission, I at length put to sea from the Nore on this day fortnight, *i. e.* the 25th of last month, with every prospect of as short and as pleasant a passage as we had when we came out together last year, but alas! these hopes were but of short duration, for our fair wind lasted only as far as Orfordness, shifting directly in our teeth, so that we were obliged to beat, which is no very pleasant operation in the North seas. When we got to the Scaw the wind shifted on us again, right down the Cattegat; and beating there we found impracticable against a strong current. At last we assembled a fleet of above 140 sail, all in the same predicament.

"We made two attempts to reach the coast about Gottenburgh, whither I had ordered my carriage to meet me, but we could not make anything of it. At last the wind came fair and brought the vessel I was in, with that advantage, a quicker mode of conveyance than the other; so I came down as far as the Sound before I disembarked, which was the day before yesterday. I was much surprised at hearing the Duke had

actually sailed, for I thought it impossible the fleet could have been ready. Having nothing to do at Stockholm, as I am not charged with any dispatch for you, I made no scruple of altering my destination, and coming hither as the only chance I have of joining the duke before he meets the enemy, and also as the best mode of getting to Finland, to make my report to the king, and to say the little I am authorised to say, as an acknowledgment of the message he sent by me,—a message which, by the bye, I wish I never had been desired to deliver, since my acquitting myself of it, in the way I thought it right to do, has, I believe, been taken very much amiss. Be that as it may, having undertaken it, and knowing the consequence it was of to have an answer one way or the other, I felt I could not conscientiously do otherwise, than urge the necessity of at least a reply, if I failed in convincing them of the necessity of assent.

"Exhausted as I am for want of rest and food, having run from Helsingborg hither without stopping, I do not find myself equal to entering into the detail of this business, but I could not embark without just letting you know of my arrival and intentions. To do this, I am obliged to employ the only vacant hour I shall have, as I am just come into town (twelve o'clock, Sunday night) and find three line-of-battle ships not gone, but to sail to-morrow at daylight. The time it has taken to knock people up, and inform myself of all this, (not to lose a moment,) has brought the hour of daylight very near round; so I must conclude by telling you to expect our commissions in the Active brig in which I came out; they are in a trunk with some

of the best of my things that I sent to Stockholm, as a *corps de reserve*, in case I should lose all I have with me, which is not improbable considering the critical situation I am going into—and perhaps my head too; indeed, my head feels as if it would drop off on the paper, I have such a pain in the back of it. This makes the fourth night that I have only had nodding rest, for there was no leaving the deck in the Cattegat; and these little jolting waggons, in which I have been these two nights past, don't admit of a comfortable nap, as the German waggons do, which are luxury in comparison.

"I attended to what you said, with regard to making earnest application for the usual allowance for couriers, and spoke to Mr. Aust about it; he agreed with me in the justice of my expecting to be put back again where I was, whole, even if I was not the bearer of any public dispatches back; but he advised me not to make any such application myself,—I suppose for fear of a refusal, in the humour they were in, but which, once given, would be adhered to, though the humour should change for the better. He recommended, therefore, that *you* should make the application. He seemed to have no doubt of the allowance home, as a matter of course; if they confine you to that, I may have exceeded it, and consequently be something in your debt, but if this should prove so, I must beg it may remain so for the present; for I shall find it difficult to make my finances answer the outgoings I see before me, as they are cramped by my mother (who is the rich one among us) refusing the supplies, in hopes thereby to oblige me to relinquish my projects *of seeking danger*,

as she calls it, by rendering it impossible for me to execute them. Luckily others think differently, but are not so well able to support my projects, having expensive ones of their own.

"Pardon my entering thus into my own affairs, but it is well to speak out at once to one who likes frankness and precision, otherwise wrong opinions may be formed for want of better materials, and that may be called narrowness which is now but necessary frugality, to make both ends meet. I have found time to write so much more, as the line-of-battle ships cannot move with this wind. Count Monck has, however, given leave for a cutter brig to try to work to windward with me, at my desire. I should be sorry to be thrown out, and not be in at the death this year; besides, without vanity, I am sure I should be of use, for all our business depends on measuring with a *coup-d'œil*, and on not being so attached to rule and mathematical certainty, where the data change during the operation. This is the reason why our rule-of-thumb people often succeed better than the best theorists, though if they were asked a reason, they would only say, 'they does because they does.'

"You see I have mounted my hobby-horse, but I shall not let him run away with me upon paper now, but reserve his strength for real service. The reparation of this fleet has quite astonished me, I assure you, and one cannot but give the greatest credit to the commissioners who planned such arrangements, as to make the little they had of men and money go so far. I, as a seaman, would not have undertaken it, but 'tis plain they have had more resources than fear.

"I send you a letter from Frederick North, in which, I suppose, he announces an intention he expresses to me, of visiting Stockholm; also two others—one from the office. By the bye, if there is a word of public business under that seal, I think I am authorised to bring them in a bill for greasing my wheels, and not having greased my night-cap lately; I suspect it, so I shall have it sent off as soon as possible. I beg to hear from you, and to have the satisfaction of knowing that you have received my late letter from London, and that you approve of my determination, not to accept a commission, as I cannot do it with safety.

"Adieu.—Yours most truly,

"WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH."

"A Monsieur, Monsieur Liston, Envoye Extraordinaire
de S. M. Britannique, à Stockholm."

During his absence, an attack had been made on a division of the Russian great fleet at Revel, which had been unsuccessful, the Swedes losing two line-of-battle ships, without making any impression on the enemy, who were moored in line, and protected by the batteries on shore. The opinion of Captain Sidney Smith, of this most ill-advised attack, is very honestly given in the following letter to Mr. Liston, with whom he was in constant friendly communication during his service in Sweden.

"A bord de l'Amphion, le 21 May, 1790, Svenska Sund.

"DEAR SIR,

"By the date of this you will observe that I am on board his majesty's yacht. I left His Royal Highness

the Duke of Sudermania the day before yesterday, off Revel, in good health, though not in the best spirits, after the unfortunate attack on the enemy's fleet in the port.

"I need not enter into the detail of that business, as you will probably have it at length in the gazettes,—suffice it to say it was a most desperate undertaking, such as I should not have advised, or let pass, without a remonstrance, had I been with his royal highness; because, considering the position of the Russian fleet, and that they had full time to prepare themselves, it was next to impossible that it could be successful. Mons. De Grasse attempted the same thing against us at St. Christopher's, with as little success, *we* having the same advantage as the Russians had, of a fixed position, while he had the disadvantage of being under way, and exposed to the whole fire of our line, drawn to a centre, on each of his ships in succession. I should have pleaded this experience, so far at least as not to have followed the precise mode of attack which then proved unsuccessful. The duke has given proof of his rigid obedience to orders, and I think I find the king inclined to leave them of a more discretionary nature as to his future operations. His majesty, as you know by this time, has been more successful, and means to pursue his advantage, as he has told me, by way of inducement not to return to the duke immediately. His majesty has placed me on board a little yacht which follows his galley, the Seraphim, on board of which he removes in action. I shall probably not be able to refrain from doing the same. I hope that will not be considered as *serving*. When I have more time I shall write to you more at

length, and take the liberty of committing some letters to your care to be forwarded to England.

"Meanwhile, I remain,

"Dear Sir, your's truly,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"Pray let me hear from you by the first courier—Compliments to all inquiring friends."

"A Monsieur, Monsieur Liston, Ministre du Roi d'Angleterre, Stockholm."

CHAPTER IV.

1790.

CONTINUATION OF THE VARIOUS ENCOUNTERS OF THE RUSSIAN AND SWEDISH FORCES BY SEA AND LAND.

DURING the winter months great exertions had been made by Sweden to prepare her forces, by sea and land, to be in readiness to take the first opportunity of moving, on the breaking up of the ice, and this, while the Russian ports might still remain frozen up.

The fleet, though imperfectly equipped, as Captain Sidney states, put to sea from Carlscrona, under the command of the Duke of Sudermania, early in the month of May, "while the king, with his usual alacrity, had already joined the army in Finland, and had proceeded over the frozen marshes, to the attack of the enemy's post at Walhiala, which he carried before they conceived it possible even that he could be in the neighbourhood. He next proceeded with the coasting fleet to attack the division of the Russian flotilla fitting out at Fredericksham, in which he succeeded; while a descent was made on the opposite shore of the gulf of Finland, to burn some magazines; and the great fleet was ordered to attack a division of the Russian great fleet, which had wintered at Revel;"—with what little success, however, has already been shewn.

Thus stood matters when Captain Sidney Smith joined the Swedish service.

He found the King in quiet possession of Swenskasund, where the Swedes had been defeated the year before, with great loss on both sides.

The plan of operations now proposed by the king was to proceed in the same manner, and in the hope of the same success as had attended him at Fredericksham, to the other ports in succession; with a view of attacking the separate divisions of the enemy's flotilla which had wintered there; thus pushing on and threatening Petersburgh itself, which could not fail to oblige the empress to recall, from the frontiers, her troops destined to act against the Swedish army in Finland.

"I could not but agree," says Captain Sidney Smith, in his narrative, "in the adoption of this mode of proceeding; but to carry it into effect, the junction and co-operation of the great fleet was necessary, and the king seemed to entertain no good opinion of the disposition of the officers in the cause, and even to have great apprehension that his brother would be found among the most disaffected. I ventured to assure his majesty that, whatever his royal highness's political opinion might be, it would never influence his military conduct."

Orders were accordingly given for the great fleet to advance up the gulf.

On his first arrival at Swenskasund, the forces assembled were ordered to pass in review before him, in order that he might see how far what had been agreed upon, as to the proper description of vessel for this service, had been acted up to, it having been found impracticable to manœuvre with large square-rigged vessels, in such an intricate navigation as that among the

innumerable rocks and islands which lie off the coast of Finland.

"I was sorry to find," he says, "that the officers in general had not entered into the idea, having made interest for some of the larger vessels to attend the squadron, which, with the transports, so encumbered it as to deprive it of all the advantages occurring from celerity of movement, and thereby of every right to the title of a *light* squadron. We experienced this at the moment, by the impossibility of proceeding eastward, against the light air of wind that blew from that quarter, which the king was exceedingly anxious to do, and which he could have done, had the squadron consisted entirely of gun-boats and light rowing vessels.

"As it stood, it consisted of the following different species. A floating battery of twenty light 32-pounders, three small frigates, carrying eighteen 12-pounders, four large and three small bomb vessels, square-rigged, also twenty galleys, carrying four thousand men as rowers, who, being infantry regiments, were capable of acting on shore as troops of disembarkation (three of which galleys had been in use in the wars between Sweden and Russia ever since Peter the Great first introduced them into the Gulf of Finland), and seventy-two gun-boats, carrying a 24-pounder at each end, and manned with about seventy rowers. This was the most approved species of vessel for that sort of service."

Being, however, at length fairly in motion, the signal having been previously given to strike tents, embark, and proceed to the eastward, between the chain of islands and the main land, Captain Sidney Smith gives

the following glowing description of what he terms the "line of march."

"Nothing can be conceived more sublimely beautiful than the picturesque scene around us, animated by this line of march, while the dead silence of the forests which cover the shore and islands was only interrupted by the splashing of the oars, re-echoed through them. The exact order, the perfect proportion of the intervals between the vessels, the lengths of the line, now perfectly straight, and the end of it nearly out of sight from its extent, now in various serpentine windings, as the projection of the shoals obliged the course to be partially changed, the masts mingled with the tall forest trees, or for a moment interrupted from the view,—all contributed to please the eye, while the magnitude of the object for which this force was destined, and the probability of an immediate and desperate conflict, contributed to awaken in the mind the grandest and most awful ideas."

Anchoring at night, the tents were pitched on shore, and excursions made to seize on such of the inhabitants as were likely to be useful as pilots, and to obtain subsistence.

On the 25th of May they arrived at Pithepas, at the mouth of Verolax harbour, where the chain of islands, behind which they had proceeded, terminated, and it was deemed necessary to wait for a favourable opportunity of crossing the branch of the gulf which leads up to Wyborg; both on account of the risk of exposing the small vessels by the violence of the wind, and because the king did not think it prudent to venture into the open part of the gulf, exposed to the

Russian Cronstadt fleet, without the protection of his own great fleet in the offing.

"To bring them up, therefore, was absolutely necessary, and seemed not very easy, as every man on board, from high to low, was averse to engulfing such large ships in such a narrow sea, among so many rocks; and by the duke's answer to my letter from Swenskasund, I could not but observe that, however convinced of the necessity of the measure, he listened too much to the representations of those who, from disaffection, or timidity, exaggerated the dangers of the navigation."

The following letter from the Duke of Sudermania, too clearly proves what he has stated.

"On board the ship Gustavus the Third, under sail off Hogland, May 26th, 1790.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I thank you for your letter, which I have received by the ensign whom the king has sent to me. I am glad you are well, and shall be more so when I have the pleasure of seeing you again.

"I am advancing, though but slowly, towards the station which the king has indicated to me. I hope God will preserve the fleet from a storm, as it would be the loss of us all among the dangers and rocks in which we are about to engage. Heaven give us good luck, for we have need of much on this occasion. Notwithstanding, my heart tells me we shall extricate ourselves well, and I place my faith and my hope in Him, who has conducted my steps to this day.

"I embrace you, and am entirely yours.

(Signed) "CHARLES."

"Advancing slowly," observes Captain Sidney Smith, "towards the station indicated, suited but ill with the necessity under which we were of striking an immediate blow, before the enemy were too well prepared, and before the Revel fleet could follow."

Captain Smith now took upon himself the delicate position of a negotiator between the king and his brother, and for this purpose proceeded in one of the royal yachts to Hogland, where he found the fleet in the act of anchoring; "which," he says, "as the wind was fair, was a sufficient proof to me that the influence of opposition had gained the ascendancy."

The Duke of Sudermania was evidently little of a seaman, and was therefore compelled to throw himself into the hands of his subordinates, which rendered Captain Smith's task one of a most delicate nature; but he had no difficulty in combating the arguments that were advanced, "as, on looking at the charts, the dangers they so much insisted on appeared less above Hogland than below it; and, whatever the difficulties and dangers might be, the enemy's fleet were equally exposed to them."

He alleged that as they must, at any rate, have a battle with the Cronstadt squadron soon, "the sooner the better, before the Revel fleet could come out, and place them between two fires, that with twenty-one sail of the line, and so many heavy frigates, we had reasonable ground to hope for success against the seventeen of which the Cronstadt squadron consisted,—that it was better to attack them at their own doors, than to wait to be attacked by them,—and that if we hould be successful, a victory gained at the gates of

St. Petersburgh, in sight of the Russian shore on both sides, could not fail of intimidating and humbling the court, thereby facilitating that peace they all so much wished for, and which the king had assured me was also the object of his wishes, and scope of negotiations."

The question was, in fact, reduced to that of finding the best mode of getting out of the scrape, by making such head against the enemy as, if not successful, should at least be honourable, in leaving nothing untried, "and thereby shewing the court of Petersburgh that they had an enemy of spirit to deal with, who would not tamely submit to receive the law at their own doors."

This negotiation cost Sidney Smith many a trip in his little yacht, between the two brothers. A rendezvous was at length agreed to off Biorkö, at the entrance of the narrow part of the gulf leading towards Cronstadt. The following is the king's letter on the subject.

COPY FROM THE KING TO CAPTAIN SIDNEY SMITH, IN HIS MAJESTY'S OWN HAND.

"Pithepas, June 1st, 1790, three o'clock in the afternoon.

"I AM much obliged to you for your report, Captain Sidney Smith, and I cannot sufficiently acknowledge the zeal of a foreigner, who, with the loyalty and intrepidity of his nation, thus devotes himself to my cause. I gave orders the moment I received news of my brother, that we shall direct our course towards Biorkö with the galleys, the towrommas,* and the

* The Finland name for light frigates.

largest gun-boats. We have no shelter anywhere but there, and I hope my brother will signify what he desires of us, and that he will take the necessary precautions with his frigates, to prevent the Prince of Nassau from coming out of Wyborg. I desire my brother to send the bearer of this back as soon as possible, and I hope you will have the goodness to communicate to me your way of thinking, and what you consider as useful to be done.

"The worst is, that the wind, which is high, prevents our smaller gun-boats from accompanying us, and that we must absolutely reach Biorkö; but nothing disheartens me, and we shall set off in two hours' time. I hope to have news of you soon, and so assure you of the sentiments of esteem with which I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

"Your affectionate GUSTAVUS."

His majesty was true to his word, and as the small vessels composing his force crossed the gulf of Wyborg, the great fleet bore down towards the Russian Cronstadt squadron, which appeared in sight to the eastward. The Swedish great fleet consisted of twenty-one sail of the line, two heavy frigates, and three lighter ones, which was a force of such superiority over the Russians, "as to entitle them to expect that success would crown their exertions, and that Petersburgh itself, ungarrisoned and defenceless, would submit to receive the law from the victors."

The great object was now to attack the Cronstadt squadron before the Revel squadron could come out, and so place them between two fires; but alas! ob-

stacles of all sorts were again thrown in the way. Captain Sidney Smith, however, acquits them of want of personal courage, "for no men," he says, "are braver than the Swedes when under fire, but they had not the necessary confidence in their strength to make trial of it."

A signal, it appears, was actually made to tack and stand from the enemy, in obedience to which, two ships had altered their course, and were steering down the gulf again. Sidney Smith effectually remonstrated with the duke. "The words were no sooner out of my mouth," he says, "than the duke, as if he only wanted some authority to quote, decided to bear down on the enemy,—ordering the signal (to haul off,) to be annulled, and its contrary to be made, in a most peremptory manner."

All opposition now seemed to cease, and the necessary signals were made to observe the most compact order in closing with the enemy. The wind dying away rendered it impossible to engage during the night, and it was four o'clock in the morning before the fleets were enabled to meet. The wind was now from the eastward, and the Russians, says Sidney, made use of it, "bearing very gallantly down upon us. The smoke, as usual, soon covered every thing, and rendered the giving further directions by signal impossible, so that I was obliged to convey the duke's orders by going along the line in my boat, whereby I was witness to much gallant conduct among individuals, and had consequently every reason to hope that we should finish the business gloriously."

It would appear, however, that there was no great

disposition on either side to "finish the business." The Russians were evidently desirous of protracting the time, for the arrival of the fleet from Revel; and as the generality of the Swedish captains did not see the necessity of pressing them hard, the firing ceased in a few hours, from the fleet finding they were at too great a distance to do any execution.

The Russians gave way when any particular ships pressed them hard, in order to make a drawn battle of it, till at length they gave over "as it were by common consent."

In Captain Sidney Smith's opinion nothing was wanting to ensure success, but to close with the enemy; and thus, with a determination to renew the action in the morning, they refreshed themselves with a few hours' sleep, the fleets remaining in line opposite to each other.

The Russian fleet evidently shewed that they had no thoughts of retiring; and it, therefore, became necessary to endeavour to force them to do so before the Revel fleet could join. "The signal was accordingly made to bear down and engage the enemy; as soon as the morning breeze from the westward came in and gave us the weather gage. Our line was completely formed on the starboard tack, with our head to the southward, and ranged so nearly parallel to the enemy, who were to leeward, that nothing was more easy than for each ship to close with her opponents, and make a decisive action; but the same fatal backwardness still prevailed, and the cannonade was this day at a more shameful distance than the preceding. Each seemed to wait for the others, except Admiral

Modée, the second in command, and his immediate followers, who shewed a most gallant example, obliging the Russian fleet to give way, and pursuing this advantage by doubling on them."

"I think it necessary," continues the narrative, "thus to except this admiral from the general censure, as I was myself witness to his good intentions and exertions, being on board his ship at this moment; and I will venture to say that nothing was wanting for a complete victory, but that our van and centre should do as the rear had done, instead of which they continued firing out of gun-shot, so that the rear was obliged to return, that they might not be cut off from the main body.

"The leading ships of the two fleets having now approached very close to the southern shore of the Strait, it became necessary to wear together, and stand on the opposite tack towards the north shore, and being arrived there, to repeat the same manœuvre, which, though a very difficult one, was well done. The Russian fleet was thrown a little into confusion by it, but was particularly adroit in re-establishing this order, though there were but few ships that worked well separately, and those few we knew to be commanded by the English and other foreign officers in that service. The day was thus spent in a fruitless distant cannonade, though every signal that could be thought of was made to produce a close and decisive action; and the duke was so exasperated that he would certainly have removed many from their commands on the spot, had he been provided with a choice of substitutes in whom he could place greater confidence.

As it was, his royal highness was obliged to content himself with inserting very strong expressions of reprimand in the public orders, recalling the commanders to a sense of their duty, and to a remembrance of the ancient practice of the Swedish nation to engage the enemy closely."

Nothing could well be more embarrassing than their present situation; but if anything could possibly render it more so, it assuredly was that the enemy's squadron from Revel had made its appearance, and was bearing down upon them. "Considering our desperate situation," continues the narrative, "and the obligations we were consequently under to extricate ourselves by desperate exertions, the obvious and only thing to be done was to fall on the new comers immediately, and endeavour to make an impression on eleven ships, though we could not on seventeen." Accordingly they hauled off from the Cronstadt fleet, and steered towards their new customers, informing the king of their intentions; but they were so pressed by the Cronstadt fleet as they approached the Revel fleet, that it was found necessary to abandon the attempt, and join the king, occupying the gulf of Wyborg, as the only means of preventing the enemy from doing so, anchoring in line across the entrance, and supporting their flanks by shoals and the main land, somewhat similar to the position occupied by the enemy at Revel.

The short interval of night was favourable to this manœuvre, and the fleet accordingly steered to the northward; "the two Russian squadrons closing as they sailed from between them, and finding, in the

morning, that they had embraced the air instead of the prey of which they were so sure." Still they pressed hard on them; but the superiority of Swedish seamanship overcame all difficulties, and they soon had the satisfaction to find themselves formed in a good line at the entrance of Wyborg.

Captain Sidney Smith now availed himself of the opportunity of communicating his proceedings to Mr. Liston, in the following letter:

"At anchor before Wyborg, June 7th, 1790.

"MY DEAR SIR.

"I have at intervals found time to begin a letter to you, though I have not been able to finish it. I don't like to send it incomplete, as it will contain the detail of all our late manœuvres, which are perhaps as desperate as any that ever were attempted in any war. I shall have an opportunity, in a day or two, soon enough to render my account worth receiving; meanwhile I will not let this courier go without just thus much to thank you for my packet, which I received yesterday. I beg you will give me the earliest intelligence if the war with Spain becomes serious, as in that case I shall feel it my duty to return to England, however I may regret the leaving a situation the most flattering possible for a man of my age and disposition.

"The king has given me a yacht which I run between the two fleets, according to the probability of meeting the enemy. Of late I have been chiefly with the duke, as he was in the most critical situation, fighting the Cronstadt fleet within five leagues of Cronstadt, that is within hearing of Petersburgh itself, with the Revel fleet behind us. During this time the king did me

the honour to write to me by every conveyance, knowing the influence I had by the friendship of his royal highness for me, and commanding me to write freely my sentiments with regard to our plan of operations, the whole object of which his majesty had before communicated to me. I have had the satisfaction to find, that every proposition I have hitherto made has been adopted, so that I find myself between the two fleets, influencing both, which I like better than commanding either.

"You who know my disposition a little will not be surprised at some of the things you will hear, or that our present situation is of my choosing. We are moored in a line across the entrance of Wyborg, to block up Prince Nassau's squadron, to preserve a good retreat for the king, if his projects fail, and, *entre nous*, to recover ourselves a little after such an excess of fatigue, as almost exhausted our strength and spirits. Having fought the Cronstadt fleet for fourteen hours one day, with little intermission, and great part of the next morning, (I forget how many hours,) we were in no condition to fight the two together, though we did our utmost to attack the Revel fleet, on their appearance, to prevent their junction, but this being impracticable, without being hemmed in between two fires, we slipped in here from between them, to their great surprise, taking refuge in one of their own ports, occupied by a third fleet, which will probably attack us in the rear, unless we destroy it before the others attack us in front. With all this, we are so much at our ease in comparison to what we were while at sea, that we rest ourselves in the greatest tranquillity, repairing

our damages, while the army procure us refreshment. It became absolutely necessary to take this measure, as we were reduced to drink the water of the gulf, which would soon have brought on sickness, though it is almost fresh so high up as we were. The king, with the galley fleet, is lying at hand, to sustain the interval in our line, if the Russians attack us, so that I hope we shall be able to return them the compliment of Revel. I should rather think, however, that M. de Tchitchakoff, who commanded there, and who now commands the whole fleet, must be sensible that he owed his safety there to his situation, and consequently that he will respect ours so much, as not to risk a battle, though he formed a very close line to-day, and by his course indicated an intention to see if he could not find a weak part. It fell calm, however, and if he remains in the same situation to-morrow, I wish to amuse myself with attacking a wing, *a la hussar*, with a division which the king has ordered to be under my *influence* for that purpose, that I may execute what I have often talked of with you. The king's ship is a three decker, and a formidable fellow in the line. This is necessary to make it troublesome for them to keep their station here.

"I dare say they think they block us up, but I can assure them, so far as it depends upon me, that we shall endeavour to make our way through them, whenever the general plan of the campaign makes that a necessary measure, as I have not the greater opinion of the strength of a fleet from its being numerous.

"Yours faithfully, W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"A Monsieur, Monsieur Liston, Ministre du Roi d'Angleterre, Drottning Yatan, Stockholm."

Captain Sidney Smith's opinion was, that the whole business could only end, sooner or later, by a most desperate battle; and he was certainly correct in thinking it better to reduce the enemy to the necessity of attacking them in their strong position at Wyborg.

The question had been mooted, why the whole project had not been relinquished when they found themselves unequal to the execution of it, and why they did not retire down the gulf. The answer of the noble-minded Sidney was, "that there was no time to combine such a retreat, with the king at the distance he was from them, and with the enemy so near; and that to leave him to his fate, to extricate himself as he could, was out of the question, though it would seem there were not wanting some who ventured boldly to talk of such a piece of treachery and dastardliness."

The officers of the fleet were in truth little to be depended upon; and now that they were comparatively at their ease in their present position off Wyborg, "cabals were formed, and such language held, as greatly discouraged those who were disposed to remain obedient."

"Much odium," says Sidney, "was thrown upon me, as may be supposed, from the influence that was attributed to me; and it was a difficult task to preserve a good understanding by constant intercourse with the discontented, so as to hear and answer their arguments, which was necessary when I had no *authority* to silence them, and when I could not *call forth* any unusual severity, without acting the base part of an assassin. Could I have stepped forward and avowed the blow, I would certainly have struck some severe ones, and as near the root of the evil as possible; but

a few partial instances would not have been productive of any general good, and therefore I never named names but where they were deserving of recommendation, in order to procure them rewards."

Moored in line off Wyborg, great apprehension of an attack from without prevailed through the fleet, but Sidney Smith could not persuade himself of the probability of it, considering that Tchichakoff, who was now in command of the Russian fleet, would have the battle at Revel fresh in his memory, and would remember that he owed his safety there to a position similar to that in which the Swedish fleet were now placed at Wyborg.

The Russian fleet, however, continued to approach slowly, "anchoring and sounding all the way."

At this time Sidney Smith received the following letter from the king, who still lay with the flotilla off the place of disembarkation in Biorkö Sound.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE KING OF SWEDEN TO CAPTAIN SIDNEY SMITH.

"June 9th, 1790, at three o'clock in the morning.

"I HAVE this moment received a report from my brother, expressing expectation to be attacked; I do not believe he will.

"I reckon on your courage and the intrepidity which you know how to communicate to people's spirits, and that you will continue to support them, in order that the fleet may preserve its present position.

"My hussars pounced upon the empress's dragoons finely yesterday.

"I wish you, Captain Smith, all the success that your courage and your talents give you a right to expect."

"GUSTAVUS."

Every preparation was made to receive the expected attack, closing the intervals, and advancing the wings of the line so as to throw a more concentrated fire. The Russian fleet, however, anchored again at some distance out of gun-shot.

"The alarm of yesterday," observes the king, in a subsequent letter, "seems to be dissipated, as I have not heard a single gun. It is necessary now to proceed to action. The king, my uncle, said one should never give the enemy an instant of repose, and I am of the same opinion. I have landed some troops, and they give the enemy sufficient exercise; but this flotilla of the Prince of Nassau at Wyborg plagues me, and it appears to me that we must destroy it somehow or other. * * * *

"The more the Russian fleet looks at ours, the more one ought to feel convinced that they have no intention to risk the fate of the Russian empire, on the hazard of a battle, and the more our confidence ought to augment."

Early the next morning, the King of Sweden came alongside the yacht appropriated to Captain Sidney Smith, and took him with him in his boat to reconnoitre the position of the enemy's flotilla, which was lying in Trongsund, the middle of the three channels formed by the islands of Uransari, and Sommansari, at the entrance of Wyborg, after passing the inner road.

"They had four large square-rigged vessels, about twelve large galleys, and many smaller vessels; the masts of which lay so thick, that it was impossible to count them. The enemy was at work, throwing up two batteries on the points of the islands on each side the entrance.

"The mode agreed upon was to proceed to the inner road of Wyborg, with the flotilla in three divisions, which were then to separate; the left proceeding between Catilla and Sommansari by the westward of the three passages, while the right was destined to force the passage of Actis Capel to the eastward, and land a body of troops on the island of Uransari, which were to come in the rear of the batteries that commanded the middle passage of Trongsund, where the enemy's vessels lay, and facilitate the grand attack which the centre was destined to make on them.

"The king, on this occasion, exacted the performance of the promise I had made him, to quit the great fleet and accompany the flotilla, whenever that was likely to come into action; and as I could not accept any commission or ostensible command in it, his majesty furnished me with an order addressed to the chiefs of divisions, and officers in general, in the following words:—

"ORDERS.

"'Amadis, at anchor in Biorkö Sound, off Wyborg, June 13th, 1790.

"'Whereas, I have instructed Colonel Sidney Smith, by word of mouth, concerning the operations which I have undertaken against the Russian coasting fleet in

Wyborg harbour;—my commander and chiefs of divisions are, therefore, hereby commanded to follow all such orders as the said Col. Sidney Smith shall give in my name.

"'GUSTAVUS.'"

The above orders alluded to a plan of attack at Uransari. Great reluctance appears to have been felt, among the parties concerned, to the making any attack, and great backwardness on all occasions — not from want of bravery, "for a braver people than the Swedes," says Sidney, "do not exist," but from a want of confidence in themselves.

The difficulties thrown in his way—the many fruitless and useless debates, must have been most vexatious to one of so eager a mind. "New objections were started among us as to the difficulty of proceeding by the intricate channel in the night. To obviate this, I rode across the neck of land, and taking a peasant's boat from the shore, sounded the channel during the night, and made myself master of the land-marks, at the same time settling the necessary signals with our advanced posts on shore."

Every preparation having been finally made, the flotilla was separated into three divisions, and pilots were secured from among the peasants of the neighbouring islands. From these, they learnt that the enemy had landed some cannon, and were busied in erecting a battery on a point called Actis Capel. The following is the account given in the narrative:—

"We arrived before the place described by the peasants, at one o'clock in the morning.

"All was silent, and we proceeded onwards; when, on a sudden, the enemy unmasked the battery, and the burst of fire began upon us. They singled out my yacht as evidently the vessel on board which was the commanding officer, and unfortunately for me some of their shot took place but too successfully,—one unlucky one depriving me, at once, of the services of my two most useful officers, at the moment I was speaking with them.

"Our gun-boats returned the fire briskly, and soon proved themselves a formidable species of arm to such an expedition.

"A sudden explosion in the enemy's battery marked the moment for us to throw ourselves into the water and dash in upon them.

"The empress's life grenadier guards, posted behind the trees, disputed the landing warmly, and the beach being composed of loose rolling stones rendered it difficult. However they were obliged to give way, and we made prisoners of all those who were not killed or could not save themselves by flight.

"Colonel Lilliehorn, being come to himself a little, was the first to throw himself into the water at the head of his troops, notwithstanding his wound, and thus we became masters of this battery; but we had almost paid dearly for the facility of our conquest, for, arriving in the battery before the effects of the late explosion were extinguished, we came suddenly on a heap of shells, the fusees of which were burning, and had scarcely time to get out of their way before they burst.

"I took post on this ground, encamping on the little island near the point of Uransari, and sent back the

prisoners and wounded to the main body. Among the latter I had cause to regret the loss of my two most useful officers. Colonel Lilliehorn, though equal to the exertions of the moment while his blood was warm, was by this time too faint and stiff to be able to continue me his assistance.

"Captain Sillén was in a most deplorable situation, and worse since; for want of surgical assistance, the amputation of the mangled stump could not be performed till he could be transported to the hospital ship. I had the satisfaction, however, to find that the little assistance I was able to give him, at the moment of the blow, amidst my most urgent occupations (by binding up the artery with a handkerchief tightened by a stick, to serve as a sort of tourniquet), had the effect of stopping the too great effusion of blood; and the surgeon has assured me since that this timely precaution saved his life.

"He was a most active, able, and gallant officer; had volunteered this business with me, urging me to make interest with the king to part with him; when his majesty expressed himself desirous of having him near his own person on this occasion.

"His loyalty and attachment to the king were manifested at the moment he received his wound, in a most affecting manner. As he fell, he gave only a single groan, saying, at the same time, '*Dieu béni le roi.*' He thanked me for the assistance I afforded him, and expressed his satisfaction when I told him the battle went in our favour; and upon my asking him how he found himself, he pointed to his hand, which was lying on the deck, saying, 'I see, I am but poorly.'"

Notwithstanding the success which attended this little storming party, the same difficulties of following it up were thrown in the way.

Every obstacle was magnified, and some that did not exist were created. The supply of the necessary provisions for his division were retarded, and they were literally reduced "to the last mouthful of black bread, which was at best but a bare subsistence, and required the addition of birch bark to make it hold out."

Still there was no reason to give the matter up as impracticable. The passage of Actis Capel being forced, as above related, there was nothing to prevent their proceeding according to the plan agreed upon, in making their landing good on Uransari. On drawing up the line of gun-boats before the breach, the enemy withdrew their outward sentinels towards their main body, and a landing was thus effected without opposition.

"We proceeded with all haste in pursuit of the enemy, who had taken the road towards Trongsund; and, arriving at a little plain where the wood had been burnt, came suddenly out upon them, and found them in line waiting for us: their flank was in the thick part of the wood, so that we could form no judgment of their numbers.

"I listened anxiously to hear when the cannonade should begin on the other side of the wood, where the king lay; but, alas! not a single gun was to be heard, and I was deprived of all hope of any *vigorous* attack being made in that quarter, by a letter which was at this moment put into my hand."

The letter alluded to was from Gustavus, dated on

the 17th of June, in Wyborg-road, representing the enemy's position as almost impregnable, and informing Sidney Smith that he "waits for news from him to decide his retreat, or a false attack here in the front, while your's may succeed in the rear. I fear that the attackon Uransari will be impossible, since they have felled the trees which covered the battery."

"Had this letter," says Sidney, "arrived sooner it might have prevented my landing, but as it was, the thing was done, and I saw nothing in the line of Russian infantry now before me to cause me to suppose the attack on Uransari impossible, as they had made the king believe.

"The time was now come to try it; the enemy were too near for us to hesitate, or to think of anything but closing with them. Immediately on our advancing, they gave us the first fire: that of the artillery was the most tremendous and destructive, the shot splintering the trees, and making showers of arrows, which killed or maimed all those who were in their way. We returned it partially with our musketry, and then ran in with the bayonet, as had been concerted, being the mode of fighting best calculated for Swedish troops.

"I hasten over this scene of blood and slaughter, making only this one remark,—that I did not find that sort of firm resistance which the King of Prussia's relations had taught me to expect from Russian troops, for they were beaten by the steady step of the Swedes, even before the bayonet came near their breasts.

"The fugitives, however, rallied on the appearance of another line to support them, the enemy having landed

troops from their galleys in great numbers, when they found, by the inaction of our centre, that the attack was not general. These gave us a cross fire, and advanced on with the bayonet in their turn, rending the air with their cries, as is the Russian custom.

"My little troop of Swedes was much diminished by this time, many being killed, or on the ground wounded, and those who remained being separated by the eagerness of some in pursuit of the fugitives, and the backwardness of others who had not come on to the charge from the first. Thus I found myself at this moment absolutely alone, standing by the enemy's cannon which they had left us. Unfortunately the horses of the ammunition waggons, being unused to fire, had run away with them in all directions, and thus we could not turn these guns on the enemy, which we might otherwise have done to great advantage.

"My gallant young friend, Count Dona, came up to me at this instant, exhausted and out of breath with his endeavours to collect our scattered ranks, desiring me to remark that we were surrounded by the enemy, and must be taken.

"That we were surrounded was but too true, as wherever I could turn my eyes I saw nothing but green uniforms advancing towards us; but that we must be taken, for that reason, was not so clear. None but the officers and a few of the guards were left near me. I gave orders to make for the nearest shore, whither I had appointed the gun-boats to advance to cover us. The suddenness of our facing, in order to take the direction, checked the ardour of those who opposed us. Suddenly some of them turned

and gave way to us, and thus we went down to the gun-boats pell-mell, Russians and Swedes mixed, some content to be prisoners, others still in contention, while random shots were crossing in all directions, by which many fell on all sides.

"Meanwhile the main body of the enemy halted, not caring to venture within the range of our floating four-and-twenty pounders, the effects of which at Actis Capel seemed to be fresh in their memories.

"On my arrival on the beach I found Count Rosen, one of the king's aides-de-camp, with the following letter for me, which he was on the point of opening, in order to proceed as it might direct, considering me among the number of the slain, as those of my scattered party, who first came in, could give no other account of me than that they left me surrounded by the enemy."

The king's letter to Captain Sidney Smith, above alluded to, bears the same date, (17 of June,) at midnight.

"Captain Lilliehorn," he says, "has given me your letter of yesterday, I cannot sufficiently testify to you how much I am sensible of your zeal, and the reiterated proofs you give of courage and ardour, and which you know how to communicate to those who accompany you. I beg of you to testify my satisfaction to them."

Here I regret to say ends the narrative of Captain Sidney Smith, (drawn up by himself,) by the deficiency of the remaining sheets, or rather their dispersion; for, like the rest of his papers, scarcely a single com-

plete subject was found together, and many of them mutilated, or partially burnt, so that there is not among them one word of the great battle fought on the 9th of July, except what is contained in a short letter of the 11th of July, to Mr. Liston, which will be found in the next chapter. In this battle the Swedes were victorious, having defeated the Russians with the loss, as stated in the public papers of the time, and by those authors who have written on the subject, of five frigates, fifteen galleys, two floating batteries, twenty-one other vessels, and a large quantity of naval and military stores, together with the capture of 4500 prisoners. In this great battle the king commanded in person, on board the Seraphim galley, with Captain Sidney Smith by his side.

On the same authority it is stated that an English officer, of the name of Dennison, commanded a Russian frigate named the Venus, and captured the Seraphim, after the king had left her. The story is this—Captain Smith observing the gallant and seaman-like style in which the Venus was bearing down upon the king's galley, was sure she was under the command of an Englishman, and with this impression advised the king to consult his own safety, by taking to the boat and rowing to the shore—another account says, to one of his ships—and that of course Sidney accompanied him. The galley offered no resistance. But to penetrate through the enemy's ships by which she was surrounded was a service of extreme danger; and the record adds that this noble fellow Dennison was killed on the same day.* That Sidney Smith did advise the king to leave

* Marshall, Ralfe, &c.

his galley and saved him by his advice, is perfectly true; as I am informed by a most intimate friend, who sailed with him, lived in the same house with him, never forsook him through life, and attended his remains to their final resting place. The same friend in answer to a question I put to him about Captain Smith swimming two miles to convey a letter in a bladder to the Swedish admiral, replies, "The anecdote you mention of his having conveyed dispatches to the Swedish admiral by swimming past the Russian fleet, I have not before heard *in that way*. He *did* convey dispatches to him, but I do not think the *swimming part* to be true."

The two letters of Captain Smith, which follow in the next chapter, dated the 6th of June, and 18th of August, to Mr. Liston, have reference only to the battle of the 3rd and 4th of June. Had the whole of the latter letter been preserved, a full account of the last great battle of the 9th of July would doubtless have been given, but it unfortunately breaks off with a letter from the King of Sweden.

CHAPTER V.

1790.

CONTINUATION AND CONCLUSION OF THE WAR, WHICH PRODUCED AN ARMISTICE AND A TREATY OF PEACE.

THE conclusion of the last chapter will shew the confusion into which the papers of Sidney Smith have been thrown by dispersion, dilapidation, and mostly by fire, by which a vast hiatus has become unavoidable. As, however, Captain Sidney Smith was in the habit of giving a relation of events, in which he was concerned, to Mr. Liston, the King of England's minister in Sweden, we have in the following letter "a general outline and sum total," as he calls it, of the military transactions between the Russian and the Swedish forces.

"Svenburg, June 6th, 1790.

"DEAR SIR,

"Exhausted as I am by a series of exertions, without rest, and often without food, from not having time to eat it, I feel unequal to the task I had proposed to myself of giving you a detailed account of our operations. I cannot, however, let this first courier go without a general outline and the sum total. that you may have as early, and as exact intelligence as others of the melancholy catastrophe that has closed the scene for the present. God knows whether the

worst is not yet to come, considering the force with which the Russians remain triumphant masters of the Baltic, and the little confidence in those who will be opposed to them, after the defeat of the day before yesterday. When I say *after*, I don't mean to allow that they had any before, for if they had it is probable things would not be as they are. They were beaten before a shot was fired, merely by the presence of the enemy. Such is the effect of numbers and size of ships, on the minds of men not used to the business. It is in vain that the king and the duke are firm in their resolves, calm in danger, and clear in their orders, if those who are to obey them employ themselves in weighing the probability of success, and making most humble representations, which are neither more nor less than refusals to obey, caballing together and reviving the question, whether they should not be responsible to the states if any accident should happen to the king and the prince. It is in vain that subalterns are brave, if they are not obedient, which they cannot be with such an example in their immediate chiefs. In short, I am exasperated beyond measure to see men in a military character without the requisite qualities to become conquerors. I could trace all this to its source, but it would lead me too far from the object for which I take my pen in my hand just now, which is to state the melancholy effects of this disorder, that you may be able to prevent worse consequences by calling forth a force from England, since that alone can avert the ruin which threatens Sweden. To make my proposed outline as perfect as possible, and to enable you to answer those who ask why the King of

Sweden ran his head into the hornet's nest that has so completely stung him, I shall begin as far back as the first day I joined his majesty and the army fleet.

"I found them in good spirits after their success at Fredericksham, regretting that they had not pursued it there, but by no means in the humour to proceed in search of the rest of Prince Nassau's force, which was part at Wyborg and part at Cronstadt and Systerbeck, in no great degree of readiness for sea, according to the best intelligence. The king laid all this open to me, together with his intention to proceed and make use of the advantage he had of being the first at sea, by attacking the Prince Nassau in detail before the junction of these separate squadrons could be effectuated. To do this it was necessary that the grand fleet should advance also, in order to do the same by the Russian Cronstadt and Revel squadrons, at the same time that it covered the army fleet from the former in its passage across the arm of the sea which forms the entrance of Wyborg, as that part of the coast is not protected by the chain of islands. I have already told you that I undertook to induce the duke to adopt this measure, and the difficulties I had to overcome, since every man in the fleet, from his royal highness downwards, was averse to bringing the fleet higher up the gulf.

"I did it from a conviction that this was the only way Sweden could hope for success in an offensive war, as well as from the general principle, that it is always better to attack than to be attacked, and to carry on the war as near to the enemy's doors as possible, in order to strike a panic into the absent, as well as the present, that is to say, those who form their judgment by the

position of forces on a coast, which I take to be almost all who never saw a battle; and though this has failed of success, I maintain it not to be owing to the plan, but rather because the plan was not executed. I never should have proposed or favoured it, if I had thought it possible that men could balance, whether they should engage when the enemy was in sight, or when engaged, that they could content themselves with a distant cannonade; which could only produce a drawn battle, when it was evident that nothing but a decisive one, in the first instance, could save them from the accumulation of force, which must inevitably pour in upon them in the end, as it has done.

"The king's intention of attacking the division of Prince Nassau's fleet at Wyborg, was frustrated by the *prudent* representation of the chiefs, even after the division on the right, which I *accompanied*, was actually engaged, according to the plan which was agreed upon. We had forced one battery by landing under the muzzles of the guns, and obliged those, who occupied another, to retire above three miles to the place where their frigates lay, pursuing them with the bayonet till we had possession of their cannon; so that we could have employed them against the batteries opposed to the king, but they returned upon us with four times our number, (when they found the attack was not general) surrounded us, and obliged us to fight our way back to our boats, with the loss of near a third of our whole force, and those too of the bravest, who followed me to the very bayonets of this line of green uniforms and brass helmets, which appeared suddenly under the trees to support those we had chased. You may well say,

"*que diable alloit-il faire dans ce trou?*" In answer to which I can only reply, that as I had projected the plan of attack which the king had adopted, and as the right wing had the most difficult task, I determined to accompany them; that I might not be accused of sending others where I would not go myself, as well as to keep the gentlemen who admit the word *impossible* into their military creed from spreading that doctrine to others. By way of authority to do this, as I was not at liberty to command, the king acquainted those who did command, that he had informed me of his intentions, and of the plan of attack, which I should communicate to them at a proper time and place; and I hope I shall stand excused for choosing the head of the guards, under the fire of the enemy, as the proper *place* to inform them that they were to follow me a little further. You may suppose I took care to have a most perfect good understanding with the officers, which was not very difficult, considering they knew the distribution of ranks and ribbons would depend on my representation of their conduct. *Apropos* to ribbons, the king has already been pleased to think me worthy of the fourth rank, that is, the Great Cross of the Order of the Sword. To this I have of course answered, that I will ask my sovereign's permission to accept of it. Will you be so good as to inform me of the mode of procuring this permission: I have been unavoidably included in the honours conferred on my companions on this service, as the king was pleased to wave his sword over our shoulders on our return. This entitles me to the little cross at the button-hole, which I suppose I must put in my pocket till I hear from England.

PART OF THE
GULF OF FINLAND.
From the original formerly in the possession of Sir Sidney Smith
Wiborg
Friedrichsham
Verolax
Hogfors
Pitkapas
Widshare
Aspo
Kroftendorf
Pokala
Akis Capel
Maxlax
Kevista
18 Feet Shoal
4 Feet Shoal
Hogland
Cronstadt
St PETERSBURG
Krasnajorka
Imperial Palace of Oranienbaum
Systerbeck
30
60
27°
28°
29°

"To return—when I came back from this business, which was meant to be a diversion to the grand attack, though it turned into a serious *solo*, I found those about the king had obliged him to lay aside all thoughts of prosecuting his designs; and they were occupied solely in projecting plans of return, which became more difficult, as we had not destroyed the force in Wyborg, so that it was at liberty to harass our retreat. The Russian grand fleet was moored in a line on the outside of ours, and their frigates occupied the coast and the beginning of the chain of islands called Pitha Pass, by which the king came. It was in vain to attempt to stem the torrent of reasoning on this score; all I could say was that *Madame la Prudence avoit toujours raison tellement qu'on ne pouvoit la repondre autrement qu'en plaignant le sort de Mademoiselle Entreprise d'être étranglé par un tyran si dur et inflexible;* and thus it was decided to return.

"Various were the plans proposed, and long were the faces that proposed them on finding that there was not one that did not require a tough battle in the execution. It was impossible to put any in execution with the south-west wind then blowing, and we remained near a fortnight waiting for a change, doing nothing but eating our provisions, since all offensive operations were laid aside. At last the wind changed to the east, and brought Prince Nassau, who had had all this time to prepare fifty sail of vessels at Cronstadt and Systerbeck. It is necessary, to understand our present position, to have recourse to the chart. The army fleet having retired from Wyborg Bay, occupied the sound between the island of Bishopsön and the main land, an outpost

of cannon-boats possessing the pass to the south-east towards Biorkö; by this pass Prince Nassau entered, and began to cannonade them. The question of what was to be done was soon decided, since the king only consulted your humble servant, being heartily sick of councils of war. The first idea which presented itself of course was to stand firm, to receive the attack of Prince Nassau, and even to advance to meet him, since we came out for that purpose; but when it was considered that even a victory in that quarter did not open the communication with Sweden which the king himself became anxious about, and that we should have another battle to fight, perhaps with shattered vessels, and that our troops were so *home*-sick as not to be in the humour to fight any other battle, except one which would bring them *thither*, it was judged better to fall on the line-of-battle ships which guarded the passage to the westward, by Kroser öst, and have one battle for all with the whole force, in order to regain the chain of islands, while the wind admitted it, and before our provisions were at an end.

"This being once decided, I went to the duke to communicate the plan to him, and to prepare the fleet to weigh anchor. This was done immediately, and the van ship of the line, commanded by Captain Puka, bore down in a most able and gallant manner to pierce through five line-of-battle ships, which were moored in the best position possible to receive him; and, when past *them*, there still lay a line of frigates along the coast. The rest of the fleet followed in succession, while the army fleet and transports were to follow between the shore and the line-of-battle ships.

"This order was soon thrown into the utmost confusion by the small fry, which crowded one on the other, and got into the fire of our own ships. The smoke rendered it impossible to see the marks, so that many of our line-of-battle ships got on the rocks; our fire-ship missed her aim, and set fire to two of our own,—a line-of-battle ship and a frigate,—and I had the unpleasant sensation of seeing that, what I had meant as an attack, was converted into a flight from the very first minute, except by some, who not choosing to run this gauntlet, surrendered without entering into it.

It must be confessed that the shower of shot was, without exception, the thickest I ever saw in so small a space, being all directed to a centre, and the Russian artillery being very well served; those five ships, however, received the fire of every cannon we had in succession, and suffered in proportion. I left the king on board the Seraphim galley, just as we were about to pass the fiery ordeal, to go to the duke, which I considered as my place in this business, and the more so as he was already in the thick of it. I did not reach him for some time, as the little yacht, on board which I used to run between the king and the duke, was so shattered as to sink under me before I got half way; a vessel near at hand saved me and my crew. All I know about the king is, I left him in good spirits making the arrangements I proposed to him with the greatest coolness, and reasoning with perfect clearness. He is arrived at Svenska Sound, with a large portion of his force; how much is lost we don't yet know here. The Prince Nassau advances, and will no doubt attack him."

"I set off to join him immediately as I close this,

having seen the duke and all that remains of the great fleet into this harbour, which from its situation may well be considered as a place of safety. He has lost seven ships of the line, though I don't believe the Russians will be able to make use of more than three. His royal highness is wounded, though not dangerously, or enough to oblige him to quit the deck—a little more would have taken off his left arm; as it is, the ball, which was one of the grape-shot, of about a pound weight, grazed so as to cut his two coats, though not the shirt; the contusion is considerable and the blackness spread a good deal, as the skin, though raised, was not so as to bleed much; but 'tis so near an artery, that a very little nearer would have been too near. The Russians, who pursued us to the entrance of this port, remain in sight; and, with the force they have opposed to ours, they may detach a squadron sufficiently considerable to co-operate with Prince Nassau, and others to occupy such posts as may interrupt the communication along the coast; in short, his Swedish majesty is in a worse hobble than ever, without money, and with a disaffected fleet and army.

"I have found time, at intervals, before the departure of Baron Kusk, to write more fully than I thought I should be able to do. I write freely to you, in confidence, and give the true state of the case, trusting to your discretion. I do not, of course, hold this language to any body that I cannot trust; but the Swedes of to-day are not the Swedes of Charles XII.'s days; the battle of Pultowa operates on their minds now, and they are spoilt for enterprise, which every attack is more or less. Those of them, who are brave, are as thoroughly so as were their ancestors *in the field*, but the greater number

are always looking behind them, to see that their retreat to their own frontier is secured, which is neither more nor less, in my mind, than a previous resolve to give way. I believe they would defend their own frontier to the last; but they will never make conquests with such a disposition; and, therefore, I shall advise his majesty, when I see him, to leave off attempting impossibilities, and to defend himself as well as he can, till he knows who will help him out of any scrape he may fall into. I make no doubt but Prince Nassau will push his success, perhaps so far as to force the Swedes to exert themselves, and then there is strength and skill enough in the nation to repel his attacks. I have not time to write to anybody else by this conveyance, so if you *write to England*, be so good to say something about me, to prove me in the land of the living, till I can answer for myself. Baron Kusk returns immediately. Pray write by him, and send me a newspaper or two, by a conveyance to the king, to know positively whether I must return to England; that is to say, whether there is a war with Spain; should there be a Baltic squadron, I must, of course, be of it, and sacrifice all thoughts of *pesos duros*."

"Adieu. "W. S. S."

The letter of the 11th of July, before alluded to, is as follows; and it is the only one that appears to be forthcoming from Captain Sidney Smith, on the subject of the last battle of the 9th of July; but there is one without date (from an officer of the Russian squadron apparently) lamenting the fate of his gallant friend Captain Dennison, a copy of which is also annexed.

"On board the King's yacht Amphion,
Svenska Sound, July 11th, 1790.

"DEAR SIR,

"I am happy to have it in my power to brighten the melancholy picture which I sent you last week, of the King of Sweden's situation, by informing you that his majesty has gained a complete victory over Prince Nassau, much more so than that which his highness gained on the same spot last year, and which gave rise to the former's letter that so justly displeased the king. He attacked the king at Svenska Sund, as I thought he would, and seemed confident of success from the superiority of his force, considering himself as pursuing a flying beaten enemy, incapable of resistance. The officers we have taken accuse him of having made the necessary arrangements from this confidence, but it appeared to me that his line was very well formed and well placed; the only fault was exposing the galleys to the first of the fire, which was of course the hottest, and the consequence of which was that the great carnage on board of them (from the balls passing the whole length of the crowd of rowers) obliged them to surrender very early: this, at the same time that it discouraged those that succeeded them in the attack, inspired the Swedish officers with the hopes of the victory, for which they afterwards worked most bravely. At first they had not the smallest hope, the king and your humble servant being alone in the opinion that it was necessary to make a bold stand to receive the attack which threatened. I had communicated mine by letter, as I remained a few hours at Helsingborg, to write you an epistle, and a long one to England, which

I desired to be sent to your care, together with copies to those to whom I felt obliged to account for myself; but had not time, fearing lest the Prince Nassau should make an attack at Svenska Sund before I came.

"In effect the battle was begun when I arrived, and I found it impossible to get into it by sea, as the Prince Nassau's line occupied the whole width of the western entrance of Svenska Sund, the same by which his Aspo squadron entered last year. I was consequently obliged to land and take horse to get round to the king. I arrived, however, time enough to see above forty sail taken and destroyed, namely, the greatest part of the van division of galleys and two-mast ketches, and the whole centre division of frigates and pebechs, except one, amounting to eleven, among the rest the prince's own ship, he escaping in a boat to an island, and from thence to some vessel which carried him to Fredericksham.

"No time to write more.

"Truly yours, W. SIDNEY SMITH.

"The king told me to-day at dinner, that Mr. Frederick, and North, and Arbuthnot, were at Stockholm. Compliments to them, they will be welcome in Finland; they may read this letter."

"A Monsieur, Monsieur Liston."

(No date.)

"SIR,

"Though I have not the pleasure of knowing you personally, I take the liberty of writing you a few lines

in behalf of one of my best friends, Brigadier Dennison, knight of the order of St. George and St. Vladimer, who commanded that squadron of square-rigged ships which fought yesterday so gallantly. His distinguished bravery, his knowledge as an officer and an Englishman will I hope merit your attention. He had his broad pendant hoisted on board a frigate called the *St. Marie*, the second frigate in the line. The first foundered through the number of shot between wind and water—she was commanded by Captain Marshall, of the British navy—an officer of unexampled courage. He was lost when his frigate went down. The *St. Marie* may be remarked, if still in the position we left her in, when boarded by the land and gun boats—she was stranded upon a shoal—the pendant, I believe, still hanging at the broken main top-gallant mast. I conjure you, sir, to send immediately to the relief of the brigadier—he received a very desperate wound in the skull—he may with proper care survive this, I think. As I am particularly attached to him, from friendship and intimacy, and as well all the officers of the frigate with whom I have the pleasure to be in a yacht in the Kymen. We are all very thankful to Baron Steinublard for his attention and politeness, as well as to other officers of his majesty the king of Sweden's service.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) "W. Cheauneuf.

"We all wish to have the brigadier, if possible, with us—our mutual assistances from intimacy might be

more acceptable to him. If this can be effected by your kind efforts we will ever remember the favour."

"To Colonel Sidney Smith."

"Vegra, at Svenska Sund, August 18th, 1790.

"DEAR SIR,

"The armistice which was proclaimed yesterday, putting an end to my labours and speculations in this quarter at once, gives me time to sit down quietly, and write to those to whom I feel in debt. I was obliged to close the letter before last abruptly, and I shall now resume that thread and finish it, that you may have all your questions ready against we come to discuss matters, and review the whole in conversation, a pleasure I look forward to as not far distant, since the king's horses are ordered, and I of course don't stay an instant after him; I will suppose you have procured a map of the environs of Wyborg, on a large scale, as I recommended, and I must now beg you to place it before you—first, as to your question why we did not retire with the grand fleet to Sweaborg immediately after the battle of the 3rd and 4th of June, leaving the king and the army fleet to extricate themselves? I answer, that this army fleet (being encumbered by vessels of a construction ill calculated to resist the sea, and others that could not row,) is more at the mercy of wind and weather, and more under the necessity to consult opportunities than the grand fleet. Then the light squadron, not being a light squadron, we could not leave them to escape by their dexterity; besides this, the king had disembarked the troops from the

galleys, and the hussar horses from the transports, the re-embarkation of which could not be performed in haste, and to leave them would have spoilt all, by the appearance of a precipitate flight. We were not beaten; but with a superior force at our heels we certainly should have been, if we had not run away.

"I have already told you that on the appearance of the Revel fleet we made all sail to endeavour to meet and engage them; they kept their distance, and it became necessary to pay attention to the king's last letter to me, which contained these words, '*la seul chose que je crains c'est que l'escadre de Revel, ne tache d'eloigner le Duc du golphe, en l'alterant vers Hogland, alors nous serions embarrassés; la flotte de Cronstadt pourroit envoyer des vaisseaux dans le golphe de Wyborg qui couperoit notre communication.*'

"The Cronstadt fleet pressed us close, so that had we engaged the Revel fleet we could not have beaten them before they came up, and we must have been inevitably between two fires, and the utmost we could hope for was to extricate *ourselves* with considerable loss, without the possibility of affording protection to the king in his return; our situation was extremely critical. I weighed the matter in all points of view, the enemy on both sides making it necessary to decide quickly. Casting my eyes on the chart, the only thing that appeared to be done, to prevent what the king seemed to apprehend, namely, the enemy's occupying the gulf of Wyborg, was to occupy it ourselves. I proposed it instantly to the duke, who caught me in his arms, saying, '*Ma foi, mon ami, vous êtes envoyé par le bon Dieu pour nous sauver.*' The signal was made,

we gave up the desperate scheme of fighting under such disadvantages, and steered for the above-mentioned station, the enemy closing as we went forth between them, and embracing the air instead of the prey they seemed so sure of. As we were sailing northward to execute this scheme, a proposition came from the king for the fleet to take their station at the end of Biorkö Sund nearest to Petersburgh. His majesty's letter to the duke contained one to me, which I shall transcribe at length, as follows :—

5 Juin, 1790.

"'J'écris à mon frère la consideration qui me fait proposer la position pour la grande flotte qu'il vous communiquera, je vous prie de m'en dire votre avis; ma plus forte raison est de conserver ce poste ci avec ma flotille, par lequel je puis par mer inquieter la capitale, et forcer les troupes qui sont contre nous en Finland d'abandonner leur positions pour la secourir, ce qui ne seroit pas d'un petit avantage.' What the king desired was, to proceed as we were going, because the position proposed by the King did not seem to offer the same advantage which we expected in this, and left the flotilla in Wyborg Harbour at full liberty to come out and act in concert with the Russian great fleet; thus forming a more formidable force between us and Sweden than the great fleet alone, which, to tell you the truth, I expected to be able to beat one at a time by the gun-boats; and so we might, if our gentlemen had felt the force of their arms, such as the late victory had shewn it to be.

"The duke being also of opinion to pursue our

original plan, we proceeded, trusting that when the king saw it, he would approve of it, and if he did not, we could at any time take the position indicated by his majesty, by means of the channel of Biorkö Sund, which the Russian charts shewed to be navigable. The king approved of our resolution, when he saw the position we had taken between Biskop'sön and Kroses ost, as you will observe by the short note he wrote me in haste (when the nearer approach of the Russian fleet threatened an attack), of which the following is a copy :—You will, of course, set down the compliments the king is pleased to pay me to the account of his politeness, which you know to be very great at all times, and which, on this occasion, was, of course, unusually so, considering that compliments were the only coin I could receive at his hands as reward for my zeal in his cause.—With this preface, I shall not scruple to give it you verbatim, to preserve the spirit of it, and establish its authenticity.

"'Je reçois dans ce moment un rapport de mon frère, qui me marque qu'il croit être attaqué; je ne le crois pas, je conte sur votre courage et l'intrepidité avec laquelle vous sauriez animer les esprits, pour que vous les souteniez, et qu'ils gardent la poste que la flotte occupe. Mes hussards ont furieusement trompettés près les dragons de l'Imperatrice ; je vous souhaite, M. le Captne. Smith, tout le succès que votre courage et vos talens vous donnent droit d'espérer. Ce 9 Juin, à 3 heures. 'GUSTAVE.'

"This attack did not take place, though the enemy drew nearer and nearer every day, with great precau-

tion, sounding, and placing marks on the shoals, behind which we had taken our station. The wind being fair for them, they were masters to attack us when they pleased: we therefore employed ourselves, the first three or four days, in rectifying the irregularities in our line, filling up the vacancies, and advancing the wings, so as to form a concave with the hollow towards the enemy, and to throw a concentrated fire to any point. Our flanks being protected by shoal water, we placed four sail of the line at one end of the narrow passage to the westward, but it was impossible to prevent the Russians from occupying the other end of it, without weakening our line, by detaching from it, or by extending it. You must remember we had but one-and-twenty sail of the line, while the enemy had thirty; twenty-seven of which were always opposed to us, while the rest went to Cronstadt to repair their damages.

"My letter, of the 7th of June, will have shewn you that I did not consider their presence as any impediment to our operations against the flotilla in Wyborg, which it was my clear opinion we should attack immediately, before they had time to prepare themselves. The duke and the fleet were averse to this, fearing lest a cannonade in that quarter should provoke the Russian grand fleet to attack our line. I rather wished they would, as the best possible termination of the whole business, which sooner or later must conclude by a most obstinate battle: and it was obvious to those who had the experience of Revel fresh in their memories, that we had the advantage by having a good position. It is plain Monsieur de Tchichakoff thought so too,

since, as you know, he never did attack us. I did not choose to make the proposition, of attacking Wyborg, to the king, before I had convinced the duke of its feasibility, and removed his apprehension with regard to the above-mentioned danger of attack from without. While things were in this situation, I received the following letter from the king on this subject.

"'Biorkö Sund, Juin 11.

"'L'alarme donnée hier est apparemment dissipée, puisque je n'ai pas entendu un seul coup de cannon; il s'agit maintenant d'agir. Le roi mon oncle pretendoit qu'il ne falloit pas donner un instant de repos à son ennemi, et je suis du même avis; j'ai fait mettre des troupes à terre, et elles donnent assez d'exercises aux ennemis; mais cette flotille du Prince de Nassau à Wiborg me peine, et il me semble qu'il faut la detruire d'une manière ou d'une autre. Sans cela je ne croirai pas mon ouvrage achevé. L'inquiétude que je leur donne à terre doit les forcer à la dégarnir de monde par la flotille de Wiborg, et c'est là le moment qu'il faut saisir; pour cette effet, je puis partir d'ici avec"—His majesty then enters into the detail of the force he can employ in that quarter, leaving a sufficient number to protect the transports and the place of re-embarkation, in case of a repulse—he required, in addition, two regiments from the grand fleet, and the assistance of the frigates. He then proceeds—'mais pour tout cela il faut le consentement de mon frère et celui de Nordenshiëld, et il n'y a que vous qui pouvez être l'intremetteur. J'allais ecrire ceci hier, quand le rapporte de mon frère arriva. J'étois bien sûr qu'il n'auroit pas de bataille, mais le

moment n'étoit pas favorable pour cette negotiation ainsi il a fallu attendre jusqu'à aujourd'hui ; plus la flotte Russe regarde la notre, plus il me paroit qu'on doit se convaincre, qu'on n'a pas envie de remettre au hazard d'une bataille le destin de l'empire de Russie, et plus on doit se rassurer. Pésez, monsieur, le projet, et si vous le trouvez bon employez votre crédit pour le faire accepter, des que vous me manderez avis que le moment est favorable j'écrirai à mon frère ; ou ce que seroit mieux c'est que vous le proposiez et qu'il m'y offrit son assistance. Vous voilà redevenu ministre de guerrier, mais je sais que vous savez persuader, et c'est là le vrai talent des negociateurs.

" GUSTAVE."

The armistice mentioned in this letter of the 18th of August, having led to the conclusion of the war, Captain Sidney Smith returned to England, and was favourably received at court, and invested with the Swedish Order of the Sword, at St. James's, as appears by the following account of the ceremonial :—

From the London Gazette of Tuesday, May 15th, to Saturday, May 19th, 1792.

Ceremonial of the investiture by his Majesty, at the request of the late King of Sweden, of Sir William Sidney Smith, Knight Commander and Grand Cross of the Royal Swedish Order of the Sword, with the Collar of the said Order, at St. James's, on Wednesday, May 16th, 1792.

A procession was made from the Presence Chamber to his Majesty's Closet in the following order :—

The three Esquires of Sir William Sidney Smith bearing the coronet, helmet, shield, and banner as far as the Levee Chamber, where they remained till the procession returned, viz.

George Cook, Esq., Ensign in his Majesty's 1st regiment of Foot Guards.

Hugh Pigot, Esq., Lieutenant in his Majesty's Navy.
William Lindsay, Esq., late his Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Court of Petersburgh,
(represented by William Cosby, Esq., captain of an independent company of Foot.)

Knights of the Bath in their ordinary dress, viz.
Right Hon. Sir George Yonge.
Sir Henry Clinton.
Sir William Gordon.
Sir George Howard.
Lord Macartney.
Sir Ralph Payne.
Lord Amherst.

Sir William Sidney Smith, habited in the surcoat and mantle, and wearing the sword and spurs of the Order, and in his hand his cap and feathers, was introduced into the presence by the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Baron Nolcken, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Court of Stockholm, a Knight Commander of the Swedish Order of the Polar Star, in the Collar of that Order.

On entering the Royal Closet with the usual reverences, Sir William Sidney Smith advanced, and kneeling before the King on a velvet cushion, the Collar being presented, his Majesty invested him therewith; he then, rising, kissed his Majesty's hand, and having thanked his Majesty in a short speech, expressive of his gratitude to his Majesty for this distinguished mark of his royal favour, retired with the like ceremonies as at the entrance.

There were present several of his Majesty's Ministers and Great Officers of State, the Foreign Ministers, and many other persons of distinction.

N. B. Sir William Sidney Smith was not knighted on this occasion, that ceremony having been performed by his late Swedish Majesty in the field, under the royal banner, agreeably to the statutes of the Order, and which superseded the usual custom of passing the sword over the shoulder a second time by a second sovereign.

An anecdote relating to this Order of the Sword may here be introduced.

At the close of the battle between the Swedish and Russian flotillas, the former commanded by the king,

and the latter by the Prince of Nassau, Captain Sidney Smith approached his majesty, to make him the report of a successful operation he had directed in the centre of the line, against the largest ships of the Russian force, and also of an effort he had made to organise the Turkish prisoners, released from captivity by the surrender of the Russian galleys, in which they were employed at the oars.

The king was standing on an insulated rock, without shrub or shelter, and observing Captain Sidney to feel the cold on this bleak position, after the heat of the day, his majesty addressed a soldier of his guard nearest to his person, saying, "Give the colonel your cloak." The man, with the characteristic *naïveté* of a Swedish peasant, answered, wrapping his cloak round himself, "I want it myself, sir." The king, with his wonted good humour, said to his page near him, "Bring the captain a cloak," which being brought and put over his shoulders, the king, observing the star of the Order of the Seraphim thereon, added, "because it is cold, for," said his majesty, "if I did not use those words, you would have been regularly invested, by my order, with the Order of the Seraphim, as a nobleman of the court of Spain would be made a grandee of the first class, if the king ordered him to put on his hat, without that qualification of the order, to be covered, being added. It is not the Order of the Seraphim, but that of the Sword I destine for the colonel." The negotiation relative to the latter followed, and we have seen it confirmed, as above, at home.

CHAPTER VI.

1792 to 1793.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH PROCEEDS ON A MISSION TO CONSTANTINOPLE.—ON RETURN BURNS THE TOULON FLEET AND ARSENAL.

THE invasion of Egypt by the French Directory, and its designs on Syria and the whole of the Ottoman empire, had awakened the attention of the British government, not only to the immediate designs of so ruthless and enterprizing an enemy against European Turkey, but also to the fact that France having made this conquest the door was supposed to be thrown open to her for an advance to the frontier of British India. General Count Montholon, who designates himself "The emperor's companion in exile, and testamentary executor," plainly tells us, in his recent work, that the principal object of the expedition of the French to the east, was to overthrow the power of England. "The army which was intended to change the destinies of India, was to set out from the Nile; the conquest of Egypt would bring in its train the loss of all the English settlements in America and on the peninsula of the Ganges."

Lord Grenville being foreign secretary in 1791, and seeing the danger of leaving the French armies unmolested in Egypt and Turkey, and desirous of procuring more extensive and distinct information how matters

stood there, resolved to despatch an officer on a secret mission to Constantinople, and pitched upon Captain Sir William Sidney Smith as his envoy. He had two reasons for this; the one was that Mr. Spencer Smith, being the king's representative at the court of the Sultan Selim in Constantinople, would be most likely to communicate more unreservedly and confidentially with his brother than with a stranger, and obtain for him the best information on the various points his mission might embrace. It is probable, also, that the marked manner in which the king was pleased to receive and honour Sir Sidney publicly at St. James's, on his return from Sweden, was mainly owing to the favourable notice he had received from the king of that nation, and to the report which he brought home of the state of the forces of that country.

Be that as it may, we only know incidentally to what parts of Turkey his mission extended. Among the voluminous masses of papers, on every subject on which he was employed, there appears nothing on this special mission, except a single paragraph purporting to be the amount of his expenses incurred on the journey out and home, and asking for payment of them. It states—"1792. Expenses of a journey to Constantinople by land, and residence there; examining the Black Sea, Bosphorus, Sea of Marmora, Dardanelles, Archipelago, and Ionian Islands,—beyond the sum of fifteen hundred pounds furnished from the foreign office for that purpose, but which was inadequate from the unforeseen circumstance of the war breaking out between Great Britain and France detaining him." In a fresh paragraph, he states why:—"1793. Remunera-

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tion. Reward for destruction of the ships and arsenal of Toulon, Sir Sidney Smith not having been on full pay at the time, or receiving any share of what was allowed for bringing the French ships away from thence." And here we must leave Sir Sidney Smith for the present, being fully satisfied of the objects of his mission; one being to ascertain what the French were about, and the other, which caused his journeys to the northward, to examine the state of the rivers and the seas conducting to Egypt and the provinces of Turkey, and examine what facilities they afforded for a Russian invasion of those territories, which was then contemplated; and the means also which they afforded for obstructing any such invasion.

The reign of the ferocious Robespierre, and his band of ruffians, who were exercising their atrocities and inhuman cruelties upon the best and most respectable portion of the inhabitants of France, had at length roused, in the most distant provinces, a spirit of resistance to the tyrants, and an ardent desire for the restoration of their legitimate sovereign, Louis XVII. They did not stop here; commissioners from the several departments of the Rhone and of Marseilles joined with commissioners of Toulon, and signed a declaration pledging themselves to their utmost for the re-establishment of the Bourbon dynasty.

While this was going on, in the early part of September, 1793, the inhabitants of Toulon, equally alarmed at the cruelties of the revolutionary government, joined with Admiral Turgot, who had command of the fleet, to propose a negotiation with Lord Hood, then commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, and

now in Hieres Bay, by which he should be authorised to take possession of the town and shipping, in the name of Louis XVII., stipulating that it should revert to the French monarchy on its restoration. On the arrival of Lord Mulgrave at Toulon on the 6th of September, by Lord Hood's desire, he took command of the troops until his majesty's pleasure should be known.

Previous to this, however (on the 23rd of August), his lordship had issued a proclamation, in the preamble of which he set forth, in awful terms, the miseries, the massacres, and the tortures inflicted on them by the revolutionary rulers. It appears, however, that an officer had just come off, with an account that the white flag was this day hoisted on all the forts and on part of the fleet, and that those ships that did not hoist it were fired at from the forts.

The general committee of Toulon, on learning this, declared, "that the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Toulon is to reject a constitution, which does not promote their happiness; to adopt a monarchic government, such as it was originally by the constituent assembly of 1789; and, in consequence, they have proclaimed Louis XVII., the son of Louis XVI., king; and have sworn to acknowledge him, and no longer suffer the despotism of the tyrants who at this time govern France."

On which Lord Hood issued the following proclamation to the inhabitants of the towns and provinces in the south of France:—

[Copy.]

"PROCLAMATION

"By the Right Honourable Samuel Lord Hood, Vice-Admiral of the Red, and Commander-in-chief of His Britannic Majesty's squadron in the Mediterranean, &c. &c. &c., to the Inhabitants of the Towns and Provinces in the South of France.

"During four years you have been involved in a revolution which has plunged you in anarchy, and rendered you a prey to factious leaders. After having destroyed your government, trampled under foot the laws, assassinated the virtuous, and authorized the commission of crimes, they have endeavoured to propagate throughout Europe their destructive system of every social order. They have constantly held forth to you the idea of liberty, while they have been robbing you of it. Every where they have preached respect to persons and property, and everywhere in their name it has been violated. They have amused you with the sovereignty of the people, which they have constantly usurped. They have declaimed against the abuses of royalty in order to establish their tyranny upon the fragments of a throne still reeking with the blood of your legitimate sovereign. Frenchmen! you groan under the pressure of want and the privation of all specie; your commerce and your industry are annihilated, your agriculture is checked, and the want of provisions threatens you with a horrible famine. Behold, then, the faithful picture of your wretched condition. A situation so dreadful sensibly afflicts the coalesced Powers. They see no other remedy, but the re-establishment of the French monarchy. It is for this, and the acts of aggression committed by the executive power of France,

that we have armed in conjunction with the other coalesced Powers. After mature reflection upon these leading objects, I come to offer you the force with which I am entrusted by my sovereign, in order to spare the further effusion of human blood, to crush with promptitude the factious, to re-establish a regular government in France, and thereby maintain peace and tranquillity in Europe. Decide, therefore, definitively, and with precision. Trust your hopes to the generosity of a *loyal* and *free* nation. In its name, I have just given an unequivocal testimony to the well-disposed inhabitants of Marseilles, by granting to the commissioners, sent on board the fleet under my command, a passport for procuring a quantity of grain, of which this great town now stands so much in need. Be explicit! and I fly to your succour, in order to break the chain which surrounds you, and to be the instrument of making many years of happiness succeed to four years of misery and anarchy, in which your deluded country has been involved.

"Given on board his Britannic Majesty's ship Victory, off Toulon, this 23rd day of August, 1793.

(Signed) "HOOD.

"By command of the Admiral.

(Signed) "JNO. M'ARTHUR, Sec."

His lordship then proceeded to take possession of the town and harbour of Toulon, with all its shipping; and on this occasion he issued the following further proclamation, dated 28th August.

"Whereas the sections of Toulon have, by their com-

missioners to me, made a solemn declaration in favour of monarchy, have proclaimed Louis XVII. their lawful king, and have sworn to acknowledge him, and no longer suffer the despotism of the tyrants who at this time govern France, but will do their utmost to establish monarchy, as accepted by their late sovereign in 1789, and restore peace to their distracted and calamitous country.

"I do hereby repeat, what I have already declared to the people of the south of France, that I take possession of Toulon and hold it in trust only for Louis XVII. until peace shall be re-established in France, which I hope and trust will be soon.

"Given on board the Victory, 28th August, 1793.

(Signed) "Hood."

Lord Hood, with his fleet, was off the Hieres Islands when the commissioners from Marseilles came to him with full powers from the sections of the mouths of the Rhone to treat for peace, expecting to be met by commissioners from Toulon on behalf of the sections of the Var; and as they clearly and explicitly declared their views to be in favour of monarchy, the Toulon commissioners came on board the Britannia, and offered to put the harbour, the forts, and the fleet into his lordship's possession; and so impressed was his lordship with the eagerness and zeal, not only of the assembly, but also of the inhabitants, as well as of the chief officers and seamen of the fleet, that he consented to land 1,500 men, to take possession of the forts which commanded the fleet; and expressed his opinion that, if he had five or six thousand good troops, the war would

soon be at an end. Resolving at once then to proceed to Toulon, he deemed it expedient to issue the following declaration, intended to make a favourable impression on the minds of the inhabitants and of the populace, who may be said, under the new regime, to constitute the government of France.

"PRELIMINARY DECLARATION.

"If a candid and explicit declaration in favour of monarchy is made at Toulon and Marseilles, and the standard of royalty hoisted, the ships in the harbour dismantled, and the port and forts provisionally at my disposition, so as to allow of the egress and regress with safety, the people of Provence shall have all the assistance and support his Britannic Majesty's fleet, under my command, can give, and not an atom of private property of any individual shall be touched, but protected, having no other view than that of restoring peace to a great nation, upon just, liberal, and honourable terms. This must be the groundwork of the treaty.

"And whenever peace takes place, which I hope and trust will be soon, the port, with all the ships in the harbour, and forts of Toulon, shall be restored to France, with the stores of every kind, agreeably with the schedule that may be delivered."

"Given on board the Victory, off Toulon, 23rd August. (Signed) "HOOD."

On the 29th of August, in the outer road of Toulon, he receives assurances that they had proclaimed Louis XVII. king, sworn to acknowledge him as such, would

no longer submit to the despotism of tyrants who then governed France, but be zealous in their endeavours to restore peace to their distracted country. It was announced also, that the white flag had been hoisted. The admiral, therefore, did not hesitate to send on shore 1,500 men, and take possession of the forts which commanded the ships in the road; and he also directed fort Malgue to be occupied, and Captain Elphinstone to take upon him the charge and command as governor. This officer had just returned from demolishing a party of about 800 troops, under a fellow named Curteaux, who called himself a general, and commanded at Marseilles, and they had arrived within five miles of Toulon. He was completely routed and fled, leaving his artillery, guns, waggons, and horses behind.

A letter was intercepted from this *cut-throat* general, worthy of his sanguinary master Robespierre, and his no less sanguinary colleague Buonaparte, whose first appearance, it seems, was at Marseilles and Toulon, and who is said to have given, at the latter place, a specimen of that barbarity and treachery which so signally distinguished the whole of his after life. This colleague sufficiently announces his own character as above designated. After describing the triumphs gained by the revolutionary forces, and what he meant to do at Toulon, (which Captain Elphinstone took care he should not do,) he says, "I hope in two or three days to have the pleasure to chastise the town of Toulon, as well as Lyons, and to *cut the inhabitants to pieces*, as well as the English and Spanish *scoundrels*." This revolutionary "scoundrel," now laid his plan to send away from Marseilles all the money and merchandize in the town,

the former amounting to four millions of livres; but Lord Hood, having received information of it, sent two ships of the line to be followed by two frigates, with orders not to suffer any vessels to leave that port.

Lord Hood thought himself now comparatively at his ease. The Spanish admiral, Don Langara, had a large force in this part of the country. On his lordship's application to him for assistance, he civilly declined, on the score that he could not leave his post; he was then asked if he could spare Admiral Gravina, the second in command. In answer to this, on the 29th of August, he not only sent Gravina, but came himself with his whole squadron. Of this mark of confidence Lord Hood naturally speaks in the highest terms of praise. He appeared to take a most active part, and so did Gravina, both seeming desirous that they and their troops and seamen should give their best assistance in maintaining tranquillity in the town. They turned out, however, to be a most deceitful and treacherous band, from Langara downwards, as will be shewn hereafter. In the mean time Lord Hood, desirous of ascertaining the real state of the population of Toulon and of the neighbouring country, had sent an intelligent officer, Captain Cooke, to make privately, as it were, his observations; and his report, though somewhat long, is too interesting to be omitted. It is given from a copy sent to General Edward Smith, the uncle of Sir Sidney.

"Toulon Fort, La Malgue, 4th Septr., 1793.

"My dear Sir,

"Before you receive this, my last few lines will have arrived, which just informed you of the negotiation

then depending. I have now the pleasure to announce the happy conclusion I have brought it to, and our being in full possession of Toulon, with all its forts, cities, and environs. My employment, therefore, has been for the civil and military, and I hope I have acquitted myself to your satisfaction. On our return here, we found there were two parties, one in support of the constitution of 1789, the other opposing it in favour of equality and a republic. Marseilles was also divided in the same manner. On the 29th past, two deputies arrived from the last place to treat with Lord Hood respecting his taking that port under his protection for Louis XVII.; they expected to have found deputies from the different sections of Toulon, charged with the same proposals, according to agreement between the royalist party of these two places.

"But their not having arrived, and the uncertainty of the cause of their delay, induced Lord Hood to send me in a boat, bearing a flag of truce, to gain intelligence, and, as I might find most expedient, to bring them off, or settle the business there, for which I was invested with full power. My first difficulty was to pass their shipping, who were all of the other party. From their situation I was obliged to do it within two hundred yards; but having, as you know, been in before, about a month ago, to treat for an exchange of prisoners, I had remarked their bad look out in the night, and from that circumstance looked forward to success. I left the Victory, accompanied by a midshipman, at two in the afternoon, but delayed my time till it was ten before I got into the harbour. The night dark and windy, so I kept close under a high cliff

till abreast of their fleet, then pushed boldly off amongst them (conceiving they would least look for an enemy rowing between their ships); it answered perfectly well, I passed unsuspected, or, which was the same to me, as one of their own boats; and I should have been ashore in their dock-yard unobserved, but for a strong chain laid across the narrow entrance of a pier; here I was boarded by a gun-boat, but by great good fortune, the man who commanded her I had made an acquaintance with, last time, so there was no noise made, and in a little time a deputation came down from the committee-general to receive my proposals. These I delivered, and said I would wait their answer; not being permitted to land, I remained all night in my boat, and next morning was conducted to the opposite side of the harbour, to a place called Lazaretto,—it is a house and yard, surrounded by a high wall where they place persons in quarantine.

"In the afternoon I received a letter, which induced me to send my boat off and remain alone; when it was nearly dark the committee sent me a horse with guide, which I immediately mounted, and, following a bye-path, in about two hours I arrived in the city of Toulon. I was immediately conducted to a chamber where the committee-general were sitting, and I continued so till twelve o'clock; every proposal I made was accepted with joy. They were chiefly these—'That we should be put into full and entire possession of all the forts,' with the city and fortifications; that their fleet should remove immediately into the inner harbour; that all offices, both civil and military, should be at the disposal of Lord Hood; that no power whatever should

exist independent of him.' For which I engaged, on the part of Lord Hood, that they should be immediately supplied with grain, and also from time to time equal to the consumption of the city till peace was re-established, or till he heard from the court of Great Britain. I also engaged that he would do his utmost to protect them from whatever force might be sent against the place, and that all payments should be made in coin,—these were the chief articles.

"It now became necessary to think of the manner of my return to the fleet, which being settled, and that I should be accompanied by two of their members, I left Toulon at one in the morning, and at daylight got to a village called Le Bruse, on the sea-coast, from whence we embarked, but had scarcely got on board before we were arrested and conducted on shore. The mob soon collected to a great number, and from their civility I was induced to enter into a conversation with them; it had the desired effect, they liberated us, and the guard with difficulty escaped. Once more free, I made the best of my way to sea, and about noon got sight of the fleet, and soon after on board. The fleet afterwards bore up for a bay called Hieres, from some islands that form it, with an intention to anchor there. But when off, it falling a calm, we were obliged to stand out. The terms I had settled were such as Lord Hood could not but be pleased with, yet he did not quite like trusting them till their fleet, that then lay in the outer road, was removed to the inner one. This, however, could not be done, as they were of different sentiments, so I volunteered going again, to know the result of a deputation from all the sections of Toulon to the fleet,

the city before I left it having become unanimous respecting the English having possession of the place.

"I removed into a frigate about eight o'clock that same evening, and was in hopes to have landed somewhere on the coast that same night, but finding that it would inevitably, from the lightness of the wind, be daylight first, I determined to get as near Toulon as possible, and make another bold push. But I should tell you, that, when I had sent the boat back to the fleet, with an intention of remaining behind, and to give them what information I had gained, it being thought necessary she should return with a letter to me, she was seized and carried on board the commanding officer's ship, who was St. Julien. He interrogated the midshipman that was in the boat what had become of me; how I had got to the city, and what was my business? Declaring, that, if he caught me, I should most certainly swing at the yard-arm, which, for the matter of hanging, I believed him most sincerely. My letter was opened, as the midshipman had not destroyed it, and read through the whole fleet.

"But to return to my narrative. At daylight in the morning, the Tartan in which I was embarked being within three miles of Cape Brun, which is well within their harbour's mouth, I requested Captain Freemantle to land me, and of course he complied, and away I went in a nice little four-oared boat. A French frigate lay very much in my way, so to throw them off their guard, I stood directly towards her, till having neared the shore, so that their boats could not cut me off, I altered my direction, and rowed for the shore as fast as possible. The frigate immediately manned, and sent

off her long boat, which kept up a constant fire of swivels at me the whole way, but it was too late, her shot all passed over my head, and I landed safe, though by no means without some doubts; but there was no time for reflection; from the nature of the shore, which is bound with high rocks, it was absolutely necessary to pass the broadside of the frigate, which was anchored parallel with it; so stopping to take breath before I opened out the vessel, I jumped from among the rocks and ran for it. As I expected, she fired instantly, but I had not far to go, so only received her first fire before I came to the path that led up to the cliff; here, from the looseness of the ground and the sand and dirt the shot threw up, I was much puzzled; having, however, at length gained the top, which though not high was very steep, I hid amongst the vines and fig-trees, till I had again recovered my strength and breath. All that time the frigate kept up a constant fire, which to be sure made a confounded noise amongst the trees, but did me no harm.

"At length, quitting my post, I pushed on for the city, and arrived about ten o'clock, amidst the acclamations of the greatest multitude I ever saw; the situation of things I found just the same, excepting the shipping having detained the deputies, and written a letter to the committee-general, declaring their determination to do their utmost to preserve Toulon for the republic. With this resolution I could only recommend our keeping a most watchful attention to the preservation of Fort De la Malgue, and one or two others; at the same time to cut off all communication with the shipping, which, being the most numerous and strongest,

their crews had only to gain a footing on shore to render themselves masters, for which, however, they were well aware their heads would pay. I left Toulon at four, and at day-light on the next morning arrived at the sea-side, about thirty-five miles from the town; here I remained till noon, when a small Genoese fishing-boat coming to the shore, with the assistance of my guide, and a deputy I was carrying off, I seized her, and stood off immediately; about four o'clock I got on board the Victory, which had been driven away from the coast by a strong current during that night.

"Lord Hood held a council of war of all the admirals, at which I was present. After a long consultation, I was to have been again despatched, for the purpose of making a signal to the fleet at the place where they were to land, and to be ready to conduct them to the fort of La Malgue, when the council was broken up, and all returned to their ships. My orders were countermanded, and I was directed to hold myself in readiness to disembark with a body of sailors next morning. Lord Hood having determined to follow his own opinion, in preference to that of the council, signals were in consequence made, and every preparation completed before sunrise; at nine in the morning, the ships directed to cover the landing stood in, and by two the descent was made, and the fort of La Malgue, mounting 148 pieces of cannon, with the city of Toulon, and all its fortifications, were in our hands. Captain Elphinstone, of the Robust, commanded the troops, and I the sailors; in the evening we received our appointments, he as governor, I as lieutenant-governor. The moment the shipping found the fort in our hands, they stood

into the anchorage; the French fleet had already quitted, in compliance with an order we had sent them, either to go instantly into the inner harbour, or we would sink them at their anchors.

"The Spanish fleet bore in sight the same afternoon, and anchored the same evening. Next morning we regulated the numbers of men for each fort, and also the number for the city, which we found could be defended tolerably well by 5,000 men, the number we now have on shore, English and Spanish. On the 30th, we received intelligence of Carteaux having advanced a part of his army within four miles of Toulon. Governor Elphinstone determined immediately to go out and fight him, having sent me an order to La Malgue to advance, with all the troops the forts could spare, to the defence of the city, and to be ready to support the Governor in case of a defeat. I had scarcely got into the fort, and made the necessary arrangements for the night, when I heard a very heavy cannonading and discharge of musketry, which lasted about fourteen minutes. You, I dare say, will well know the anxiety with which I waited the result of this affair. At last, about ten o'clock, one of the people I had sent out to gain intelligence returned, and informed me our troops had carried a strong post of the enemy, and were in part on their return back; I cannot say I felt very easy with respect to their coming back; it had to me a bad appearance, but I was soon easy, by the arrival of Governor Elphinstone, who confirmed the account of their having possessed themselves of the enemy's cannon, which shortly after arrived, two brass sixes and a three pounder,—the most beautiful guns ever

seen. The place, where the enemy was posted, was called the defile of Ollivales, which was very strongly fortified. You will not suppose, therefore, that we gained this success against 800 men (and that too without a single piece of ordnance), but with some loss. We have much to regret that of a very gallant officer, Major Douglas of the eleventh regiment, who was buried the day after the action in Fort La Malgue, with every honour. The enclosed copy of a letter, from Carteaux to the commanding officer of that place, was picked up the next day on the field of battle, and printed for the information and amusement of the public, which will shew you the light in which they held Ollivales."

* * * * *

"From one height of Toulon, we frequently observe large bodies of the enemy in a wood below, in which they appear to be throwing up some works; our intelligence places their number at 5000 men, 2000 of whom are peasants; their commander was a dancing-master at Toulon some time back, now converted into a general; I think we shall shortly teach him a step in which his agility will certainly be of the greatest use to him. When combined, our present estimation of the French is at least 12,000, our own 5,000, British and Spanish. National troops are not to be depended on; for, not to mention the imprudence of giving them a post of consequence solely to defend, they are the most undisciplined multitude for an armed force I ever saw. Every road, by which it is possible to attack us, is by nature strong, and so no difficult matter to defend, added to which, the rains are coming on us fast; so that

the enemy will be much distressed, as they laid their account of wintering in Toulon.

"I have now given you as minute an account of what you will no doubt think a most extraordinary event, as my time will admit of, for you will easily believe I have not a moment to myself; our want of officers makes the duty exceedingly severe; in addition to that of my station, I have hitherto taken upon me the charge of barrack-master, and the drilling of our seamen for garrison troops (I perceive you laughing at me), but it requires no more for these things than *activity, method*, and *inclination*. I should now take my leave of you, for this letter has already occupied some time, but I cannot, without remarking that, after the part I have acted, from the beginning of this affair to its conclusion, joined to the kind assistance and recommendation of the commander-in-chief, it is evident Lord Hood has not thought my conduct undeserving a particular mark of his approbation, by the post of honour I now hold; but that is not all it has gained for me, (nor would I part with this last for any thing the world could afford me), the approbation and applauses of every officer and man in the fleet, nor shall they ever repent the opinion they have so publicly expressed of me. I must now bid you adieu, but I have no doubt of having frequent opportunities of writing to you during the winter, and of course it will be from hence; nevertheless, direct as usual to the Victory. Love to all, and I am,

"Dear sir,

"Your's most affectionately,

"EDWARD COOKE."

The state of the country was not such, however, as to relieve the mind of the commander-in-chief from a great load of anxiety. The numbers, it seems, whom we had to consider as enemies, were as 12,000 to 5,000, and both fleet and army were soon decided to become revolutionists; but to return to the general narrative.

In the French fleet, which was commanded by Mons. Turgot, a royalist, the democrat sailors became mutinous and superseded their commander; and a person of the name of St. Julien, a turbulent hot-headed democrat, was appointed in his room. This man placed himself in the great fort for his better security. Lord Hood, however, sent a flag of truce with a peremptory notice to St. Julien, that such ships as did not immediately proceed into the inner harbour, and put their powder on shore, would be treated as enemies. All but seven, whose crews, on the receipt of the notice, together with St. Julien himself, immediately landed and ran away, and the ships were removed in the course of the day.

It was not to be expected, however, that revolutionary France would suffer one of her best and most important harbours and fortresses to remain long in quiet possession of an enemy, whom she most feared, dreaded, and hated. Troops were exacted, collected, and trained from every state and district that had unfortunately, embraced her destructiue doctrines, and marched off to the neighbouring forts and harbours of Toulon. Many were dislodged and destroyed, and many brilliant actions, on a small scale, were fought. One in particular is deserving to be recorded.

On the 6th of October, Lord Hood congratulates the

lords of the admiralty most sincerely, on a very brilliant and complete victory obtained on the 1st, upon the heights of Pharon, of which the French had got possession by the capture, from the Spaniards, of an important post that commanded them. The British and Piedmontaise troops led the way under Lord Mulgrave; those of every other nation, allied with us, are spoken of with high praise by his lordship, for their spirited exertions. The enemy had on the heights about 2,000 men, the flower of the eastern army, not one fourth part of which it is stated ever returned to head-quarters. "What fled not," says Lord Hood, "fell by bullet or the bayonet, or broke their necks in tumbling headlong over the precipices in their flight." Lord Mulgrave, Admiral Gravina, and Governor Elphinstone led the respective columns, the second of whom was wounded in the leg. The loss of the democrats is said to have been about fourteen hundred killed and wounded, besides prisoners.

Lord Mulgrave gives great credit to the officers by name, and "assures his fellow-soldiers of the different nations composing the army of Toulon, that the general good conduct of which he was yesterday a witness, can never be effaced from his memory. He is much pleased with the British officers and soldiers under his immediate command, and also with the officers and soldiers of the Sardinian troops, in the attack on the enemy's post." Lord Mulgrave is at a loss to express his sense of the intrepid spirit with which the officers and men encountered danger, and of the patience and fortitude with which they suffered fatigue, hunger, thirst, and the unavoidable inconveniences attending the difficult

and pressing service to which they were suddenly called.

In taking the Pharon Redoubt, the number of officers killed was seven ; wounded, seventy-two.

Captain Le Chev. Trabar, Sardinian, killed.
Captain Doherty, British, wounded.
Lieutenant Carter, British, wounded.
One Spanish admiral (Gravina), wounded.
One major,
Two captains,
One lieutenant,
One civilian,
} Sardinians, wounded.
Missing, two British privates.

Prisoners taken :—one captain, forty-seven privates.

The enemy's loss is supposed to have been about 1,500 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

Another less fortunate affair occurred, the result of a vigorous attack on Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Degrasse, which commanded the shipping in the harbour of Toulon. The attack was made on that part where the Spaniards were posted, who not only gave way, but set off in full retreat, firing, it is said, their muskets in the air. General O'Hara, with a company of Royals, led the way to another part of this, put the enemy to flight, leaving several hundred men dead and wounded on the field. Another attack was made by the enemy on the fort of Malbousquet, close to the arsenal, and commanding a great part of the town. General O'Hara was here wounded, and there is a story of Buonaparte having, in his own person, taken him prisoner. Whether it be so or not, the fate of Toulon was now decided.

The enemy having full possession of the country on the land side, kept pouring such reinforcements into

the town as to make it obvious that the time was now fully arrived when, in order to save the town and its inhabitants from total destruction, and the loyal portion from insult and every species of misery, preparations should forthwith be undertaken for evacuating the place; previously to which, however, that last indication of an approaching discomfiture, a council of war was summoned to be held.

"At a general council held at Lord Hood's at Toulon, the 17th December, 1793, present — My Lord Hood, Admiral Langara, Admiral Gravina, General Dundas, General Valdez, Prince Pignatelli, Admiral Forteguerri, Sir Hyde Parker, Le Chevalier de Revel, and Sir Gilbert Elliott.

"The council began by considering the following questions:—

"1st.—Ought we to send reinforcements to the heights of Faron, and the heights of Grasse, and can those two posts which have been carried by the enemy this morning, be re-taken?

"The council was unanimously of opinion that, as there only remain 1500 men in the town, sufficient reinforcements cannot be sent to those posts to retake them.

"2nd.—These two posts being lost, is the town and the road of Toulon tenable?

"Hereupon the council called in the chief engineers and the commanding officer of artillery, viz. Lieutenant Colonel D'Aubant, Colonel Pozo, and Colonel Maturina, and Captain Collier; and proposed to them at the same time the foregoing question and the following—

"3rd.—Can there be established at Cape Sepet a post capable of protecting the road?

1. La Ville de Toulon
2. Nouvelle Darse & Arsenal
3. Vieille Darse
4. Fort de la Malgue
5. Grosse Tour
6. Fort St Louis
7. Poste du Cap brun
8. Retranchement de St Anne
9. Fort St Catherine
10. Fort de l'Artigues
11. Fort de Faron
12. Casernes de Faron
13. Redoute de la Crête de Faron
14. pas de la Masque
15. vau des Manges
16. poste St Antoine le grand.
17. Poste de St Antoine la Petite Redoute
18. Fort des Pomets
19. Poste de l'Andre Redoute
20. Poste de Malgreve
21. Redoute de Grassi
22. Red.te Malbousquet
23. Batterie de Mirlezet
24. Batterie de Sablettes
25. Lazarette
26. Hopital St Mandrier
27. Croix des Signaux.
Postes de l'Ennemi
A. Poste de la hauteur des trois Batterie
B. Batterie de la Convente
C. Batterie de Bergaillon
D. le Leine Village
E. Batterie des 4 Moulins
F. 2.e batterie
G. Batterie du Creton
H. Batterie de Faubregas
I. le Faron Village
K. l'Hermitage Village
L. Le Poste des Anglois
M. Chateau St Marguerite
N. la Valette Village
O. Batterie avancée de St Marguerite.
Vallée de l'Eubac
Pomet Village
PETITE RADE
GRANDE RADE
Fort Artillerie
Fort Balaguier
Toises

Plan

DE LA VILLE ET DES ENVIRONS

DE

TOULON,

où sont marquées les différentes postes de l'attaque & de la défense de la Ville.

From the original formerly in the possession of Sir Sidney Smith.

London. Richard Bentley, 1847.

"The chief engineers, and the commander of the artillery, having retired to deliberate on these questions, presented on their return the adjoined report to the council. The council having read the said report, and having themselves deliberated on the said questions, was of opinion, that the place was not tenable with our present force, and that it was necessary to take measures for a retreat.

"The council hereupon came to the following resolutions:—

"1st.—To send orders to the troops occupying the redoubt, and the lunette of Faron, to retire, when they can no longer keep these posts, to Artigues, and St. Catherine; and to maintain these posts as long as they can without being cut off.

"2nd.—To send orders to the posts of Great and Little Antoine, St. André, Pomet, and the Mills, to retire.

"3rd.—The posts of Malbousquet and Missisi must be held as long as possible.

"4th.—To inform the inhabitants of Toulon, that, if it be found necessary to retreat, the combined powers will use every possible means to carry off such of them as may wish to leave it, and that even such as choose to go away at present, to avoid the bombardment, are at liberty to do so; but that they must make the necessary arrangements to get their passage on board the merchant vessels in the harbour; they shall also receive every possible assistance in provisions, &c., and every other facility.

"The committee-general will take upon itself to make the necessary arrangements for this purpose.

"5th.—The sick and wounded shall be embarked without delay.

"6th.—The French ships of war which are armed shall sail out along with the fleets; those which remain in the harbour, together with the magazines and the arsenal, shall be destroyed. Measures shall be taken this night, if possible, for that purpose; but this resolution must not be put in execution till the last moment.

"7th.—Admiral Langara proposed to anchor some ships of war and transports off the islands of Hyères, and to employ frigates to carry the troops on board from Toulon, when it may be found necessary to embark them. But this proposal was not adopted by the council.

[Copy.] "Hood."

It was quite time to prepare for a retreat, for it appears from Lord Hood's journal, that, on the very day the council sat, on the 17th of December, a heavy cannonading was heard from the enemy attacking Fort Mulgrave, as stated in the following minute. Soon afterwards the ships, the arsenal, the powder ships, the store-houses, were destroyed by Sir Sidney Smith, who writes a long detail of what was done, to Lord Hood, of which, however, no notice appears to have been taken on the spot; but a letter was sent to Mr. Secretary Dundas, which is inserted after the minute.

"Victory, Hières Bay, Dec. 20, 1793.

"On the 17th of December, a heavy cannonading and musketry at Fort Mulgrave, the enemy having attacked that post.

"Made night-signal for all the boats of the fleet to disembark troops.

"An officer came on board to report that the enemy had taken Fort Mulgrave.

"A heavy discharge of musketry on the heights of Grasse, our troops having engaged the enemy.

"Came out of the inner harbour, and anchored three ships, Terrible, Robust, and Courageux."

"December 18th.—Weighed and towed further out; came to with the best bowers in twenty-five fathoms water, the different ships of the fleet warping out.

"December 19th.—Employed bending the different sails and getting ready for sea.

"9. P.M.—observed a great fire,—supposed ships and arsenal of Toulon on fire.

"Received on board a number of troops and baggage, bent the mainsail, sent all our boats to assist in embarking the troops from the shore."

"4. 30. A.M.—Weighed and made sail, as did the fleet out of Toulon harbour, the fire still continuing.

"Made general signal to prepare to anchor.

"Bore up for Hières Bay, came to with the best bower, and moored ship."*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER SIGNED "HOOD" TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS.

"Victory, Hières Bay, Dec. 20, 1793.

"I ordered the Vulcan fire-ship to be primed, and Sir Sidney Smith, who joined me from Smyrna about a fortnight ago, having offered his services to burn the ships, I put Captain Hare under his orders, with the Lieutenants Tupper and Gore, of the Victory; Lieu-

* Lord Hood's Journal.

tenant Pater, of the Britannia; and Lieutenant R. W. Miller, of the Windsor Castle. Ten of the enemy's ships of the line, in the arsenal, with the mast-house, great store-house, hemp-house, and other buildings were totally destroyed, and before day-light, all his majesty's ships, with those of Spain and the two Sicilies were out of the reach of the enemy's shot and shells, except the Robust, which was to receive Captain Elphinstone, and she followed very soon after, without a shot striking her. * * * *

* * * * * *

"Don Langara undertook to destroy the ships in the bason, but, I am informed, found it not practicable; and as the Spanish troops had the guarding the powder-vessels, which contained the powder of the ships I ordered into the bason and arsenal on my coming here, as well as that from the distant magazines within the enemy's reach, I requested the Spanish admiral would be pleased to give orders for their being scuttled and sunk; but instead of doing that, the officer to whom that duty was entrusted, blew them up, by which two five-gun-boats, which I had ordered to attend Sir Sidney Smith, were shook to pieces. The lieutenant commanding one of them was killed, and several seamen badly wounded. I am sorry to add that Lieutenant Goddard, of the Victory, who commanded the seamen upon the heights of Grasse, was wounded, but I hope and trust not dangerously.

"I beg to refer you for further particulars to General Dundas, respecting the evacuating of Toulon, and to Sir Sidney Smith, as to the burning of the enemy's ships, &c., on which service he very much distinguished

himself; and he gives great praise to Captain Hare, of the Fireship, as well as to all the lieutenants employed under him."

London Gazette, 17th January, 1794.

It is somewhat surprising that an officer of that restless activity and enterprise, which Sir Sidney Smith eminently possessed, should have remained for a whole fortnight, in the very midst of fighting, both by sea and land, without being once mentioned, or in any way noticed, though under the very nose of the commander-in-chief. Even at the very last extremity, when Lord Hood heard all the firing of cannon and musketry, Sir Sidney was not once thought of; but the cannonading, and the fires, and the council of war, on the 17th, were irresistible to his impetuous mind, which no doubt had become indignant to find our countrymen retreating from the contest without striking a blow, and which impelled him to make an offer of his services to burn the ships and arsenal; an offer, we are told, that was brought about in this way: on seeing every one busily employed in saving themselves and their property, he asked, "What do you mean to do with all those fine ships of the enemy; do you mean to leave them behind?" Some one called out, "What would you propose to do with them?" The reply was, "Burn them to be sure." This being mentioned to Lord Hood, he was immediately sent for, and Sir Sidney was put in orders without a moment's delay, irregularly perhaps, being on half-pay, but wisely and judiciously. The following letters will tell the result. How he happened to be there at all, we are not told; but we have it in his own words

many years after the event. In a memorial of his services, addressed to the prince regent, he says, "On the breaking out of the French war, being then in Turkey, in execution of a secret mission from Lord Grenville, (then secretary of state for the foreign department), I was officially called home." Having on his way to England joined Lord Hood's flag at Toulon, he was employed by his lordship, on the hazardous and important service of burning the ships and arsenal, of which service mention was made from the throne; "but," he adds, "your memorialist, being then a half-pay officer, acting as a volunteer, though under the admiral's authority and orders, I was not considered as entitled to any share in the distribution of the gratuity to the fleet, nor did I receive any other recompense whatever for that service."

It should be added, that, in calling at Smyrna on his way home, he observed a number of British seamen prowling about the streets, and, acquainting them of the war, found they were willing to enter with him for service, on which he purchased a small lateen rigged vessel, of about forty feet keel, and entered about forty men, called her the Swallow Tender, and carried her and crew to Toulon, turning both over to Lord Hood.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD HOOD,

DETAILING THE RESULT OF HIS OPERATIONS, THE WORK OF THE PRECEDING NIGHT.

"AGREEABLY to your lordship's orders I proceeded with the Swallow tender, three English, and three Spanish gun-boats, to the arsenal, and immediately began making the necessary preparations for burning

the French ships and stores therein; we found the dock-gates well secured by the judicious arrangements of the governor; and although the dock-yard people had already substituted the three-coloured cockade for the white one, I did not think it safe to attempt the securing any of them, considering the small force I had with me, and considering that a contest of any kind would occupy our whole attention and prevent us from accomplishing our preparations.

"The galley-slaves, to the number of at least 600, shewed themselves jealous spectators of our operations,—their disposition to oppose us was evident, and being unchained (which was unusual) rendered it necessary to keep a watchful eye on them. I accordingly restrained them on board the galleys, by pointing the guns of the Swallow tender and one of the gunboats on them, in such a manner as to enfilade the quay on which they must land to come to us; assuring them at the same time, that no harm should happen to them if they remained quiet. The enemy kept up a cross fire of shot and shells on the spot from Malbousquet and the neighbouring hills, which contributed to keep the galley-slaves in subjection, and operated in every respect favourably for us, by keeping the republican party in the town within their houses, while it occasioned little interruption to our work of preparing and placing combustible matter in the different storehouses and on board the ships; such was the steadiness of the few brave seamen I had under my command. A great multitude of the enemy continued to draw down the hill towards the dock-yard wall, and, as the night closed in, they came near enough to pour in an ir-

regular though quick fire on us from the *boulangerie*, and the heights which overlook it; we kept them at bay by discharges of grape-shot from time to time, which prevented their coming so near as to discover the insufficiency of our force to repel a closer attack. A gun-boat was stationed to flank the wall on the outside, and two field-pieces were placed within against the wicket, usually frequented by the workmen, of whom we were particularly apprehensive.

About eight o'clock, I had the satisfaction to see Lieutenant Gore towing in the Vulcan fireship. Captain Hare, her commander, placed her, agreeably to my directions, in a most masterly manner, across the tier of men of war; and the additional force of her guns and men diminished my apprehensions of the galley-slaves rising on us, as their murmurs and occasional tumultuous debates ceased entirely on her appearance; the only noise heard among them was the hammer knocking off their fetters, which humanity forbade my opposing, as they might thereby be more at liberty to save themselves, on the conflagration taking place around them; in this situation we continued to wait most anxiously for the hour concerted with the governor for the inflammation of the trains; the moment the signal was made we had the satisfaction to see the flames rise in every quarter. Lieutenant Tupper was charged with the burning of the general magazine, the pitch, tar, tallow, and oil store-houses, and succeeded most perfectly; the hemp magazine was included in this blaze. The weather being nearly calm was unfavourable to the spreading of the flames, but 250 barrels of tar, divided among the deals and other timber, insured the rapid

ignition of that whole quarter which Lieutenant Tupper had undertaken.

"The mast-house was equally well set on fire by Lieutenant Middleton of the Britannia. Lieutenant Pater of the Britannia continued in a most daring manner to brave the flames, in order to complete the work where the fire seemed to have caught imperfectly; I was obliged to call him off, lest his retreat should become impracticable; his situation was the more perilous, as the enemy's fire redoubled, as soon as the amazing blaze of light rendered us distinct objects for their aim.

"Lieutenant Ironmonger, of the royals, remained with the guard at the gate till the last, long after the Spanish guard was withdrawn, and was brought safely off by Captain Edge of the Alert, to whom I had confided the important service of closing our retreat, and bringing off our detached parties, which were saved to a man. I was sorry to find myself deprived of the further services of Captain Hare; he had performed that of placing his fire-ship to admiration, but was blown into the water, and much scorched by the explosion of her priming, when in the act of putting the match to it. Lieutenant Gore was also much burnt, and I was consequently deprived of him also, which I regretted the more, from the recollection of his bravery and activity in the warm service of Fort Mulgrave. Mr. Eales, midshipman, who was also with him on this occasion, deserves every praise for his conduct throughout this service. The guns of the fire-ship going off on both sides, as they heated, in the direction that was given them, towards those quarters from whence we

were most apprehensive of the enemy forcing their way in upon us, checked their career; their shouts and republican songs, which we could hear distinctly, continued till they, as well as ourselves, were in a manner thunderstruck by the explosion of some thousand barrels of powder on board the Iris frigate, lying in the inner road without us, and which had been injudiciously set on fire by the Spanish boats, in going off, instead of being sunk as ordered; the concussion of air, and the shower of falling timber ignited, were such as nearly to have destroyed the whole of us. Lieutenant Patey of the Terrible, with his whole boat's crew, nearly perished; the boat was blown to pieces, but the men were picked up alive. The Union gun-boat, which was nearest to the Iris, suffered considerably, Mr. Young being killed, with three men, and the vessel shaken to pieces.

I had given it in charge to the Spanish officers, to fire the ships in the bason before the town, but they returned and reported that various obstacles had prevented their entering it; we attempted it together, as soon as we had completed the business in the arsenal, but were repulsed in our attempt to cut the boom, by repeated volleys of musketry from the flag-ship and the wall of the *Batterie Royale*. The cannon of this battery had been spiked by the judicious precautions taken by the governor, previous to the evacuation of the town. The rear of our column being by this time out of the eastern gate, the horrid cries of the poor inhabitants announced that the villanous part of the community had got the upper hand; boats, full of men, women, and children, pushed from the shore,

even without oars, claiming our protection from the knife of the assassin, by the most sacred of all ties,—professed friendship: we accordingly kept our station, for the purpose of affording them an asylum. Many straggling Neapolitan soldiers, whose undisciplined conduct had separated them from the main body, were among the number thus driven into the water. We received them as more particularly belonging to us, repulsing their pursuers by our fire; nor did we quit the shore till we had received all who were there to claim our assistance. The failure of our attempt on the ships in the bason before the town, owing to the insufficiency of our force, made me regret that the Spanish gun-boats had been withdrawn from me to perform the service. The Adjutant Don Pedro Cotiella, Don Francisco Riguelme, and Don Francisco Truxillo remained with me to the last; and I feel bound to bear testimony to the zeal and activity with which they performed the most essential services, during the whole of this business, as far as the insufficiency of their force allowed; it being reduced, by the retreat of the gun-boats, to a single felucca and a mortar-boat, which had expended its ammunition, but contained thirty men with cutlasses.

"We now proceeded to burn the Hero and Themistocles, two seventy-four gun ships, lying in the Inner Road; our approach to them had hitherto been impracticable in boats, as the French prisoners, which had been left in the latter ship, were still in possession of her, and had shewn a determination to resist our attempt to come on board. The scene of conflagration around them, heightened by the late tremendous explosion,

had, however, awakened their fears for their lives; thinking this to be the case, I addressed them, expressing my readiness to land them in a place of safety, if they would submit; and they most thankfully accepted the offer, shewing themselves to be completely intimidated, and very grateful for our humane intentions towards them, in not attempting to burn them with the ship; it was necessary to proceed with precaution as they were more numerous than ourselves. We at length completed their disembarkation, and then set her on fire; on this occasion I had nearly lost my valuable friend and assistant, Lieutenant Miller of the Windsor Castle, who had stayed so long on board to ensure the fire taking, that it gained on him suddenly; and it was not without being much scorched and the risk of being suffocated that we could approach the ship to take him in; the loss to the service would have been very great had we not succeeded in our endeavours to save him. Mr. Knight, midshipman, of the Windsor Castle, who was in the boat with me, shewed much activity and address, on this occasion, as well as firmness throughout the day.

"The explosion of a second powder vessel, equally unexpected, and with a shock even greater than the first, again put us in the most imminent danger of perishing; and, when it is considered that we were within the sphere of the falling timber, it is next to miraculous that no one piece of the many, which made the water foam round us, happened to touch either the Swallow or the three boats with me.

"Having now set fire to everything within our reach, exhausted our combustible preparations, and our

strength, to such a degree, that the men absolutely dropped on the oars, we directed our course to join the fleet, running the gauntlet under a few ill directed shot from the forts of Balaqué and Aiguilette, now occupied by the enemy, but fortunately without loss of any kind, we proceeded to the place appointed for the embarkation of the troops, and took off as many as we could carry.

"It would be injustice to those officers whom I have omitted to name, from their not having been so immediately under my eye, if I did not acknowledge myself indebted to them all for their extraordinary exertions in the execution of this great national object; the quickness with which the conflagration took effect, on my signal, its extent and duration, are the best evidences that every officer and man was ready at his post, and firm under most perilous circumstances. I, therefore, subjoin a list of the whole who were employed on this service.

"We can ascertain that the fire extended to at least ten sail of the line, how much further we cannot say. The loss of the general magazine, and of the quantity of pitch, tar, rosin, hemp, timber, cordage, and gunpowder, must considerably impede the equipment of the few ships that remain. I am sorry to have been obliged to leave any, but I hope your lordship will be satisfied that we did as much as our circumscribed means enabled us to do in a limited time.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

A List of the officers employed under the orders of Sir Sidney Smith, Commander, Grand Cross of the Royal Military Order of the Sword, in the service of burning the French ships and arsenal of Toulon, in the night of the 17th December, 1793.

Captain Hare	Vulcan fire-ship.
„ Edge	Alert sloop.
Don Pedro Cotiella, Adjt.	Lieutenants of the Spanish navy.
„ Don Francisco Riguielme	Lieutenants of the Spanish navy.
„ Francisco Truxillo	Commanding a mortar-boat.
Lieutenant C. Tupper	Victory's boats.
„ John Gore	Victory's boats.
Mr. Eales, Mid.	Victory's boats.
Lieut. Melhuish	Alert sloop.
„ Holloway	Alert sloop.
„ Matthew Wrench	Vulcan fire-ship.
„ Thomas F. Richmond	Vulcan fire-ship.
Mr. Andrews, Master	Vulcan fire-ship.
Mr. Jones and Mr. Mather	Vulcan fire-ship.
Lieutenant Ralph W. Miller	Windsor Castle's boats.
„ John Stiles	Windsor Castle's boats.
Mr. Richard Hawkins	Windsor Castle's boats.
Mr. Thomas Cowan	Windsor Castle's boats.
Mr. William Knight	Windsor Castle's boats.
Lieutenant Pater	Britannia.
„ Middleton	Britannia.
Mr. Matson, Mr. Valliant } Midshipmen	Britannia.
Lieutenant Hill	Swallow tender.
„ Priest	Wasp gun-boat.
„ Morgan	Petite Victoire gun-boat.
„ Cox	of the Jean Bart gun-boat.
Mr. Young	of the Union gun-boat.
Ensign Ironmonger	of the Royals.
John Skrimger, boatswain's mate	of the Swallow tender, and who performed the services of preparing combustibles.
James Young, gunner's mate	of the Swallow tender, and who performed the services of preparing combustibles.
Thomas Clarke, carpenter's mate	of the Swallow tender, and who performed the services of preparing combustibles.
Thomas Knight, quarter master	of the Swallow tender, and who performed the services of preparing combustibles.
John Wilson, advanced sentinel	

Liste des Vaisseaux, Frégates, Corvettes, du departement de Toulon. En Rade, Lors de le Entrée de l'Armée Anglaise à Toulon.

VAISSEAUX.	CANONS.	
Le Commerce de Marseille	120	Restés avec l'armée Anglaise.
Le Pompée . . .	74	
Le Tonnant . .	80	Brulés à Toulon.
L'Heureux . . .	74	
Le Centaure . .	74	
Le Commerce de Bourdeaux	74	
Le Destin . . .	74	
Le Lys . . .	74	
Le Heros . . .	74	
Le Themistocle . .	74	
Le Duquaytrouin . .	74	
Le Patriote . .	74	Renvoyés dans le port du Ponant, y transporter les equipages.
L'Apollon . . .	74	
L'Orion . . .	74	
L'Entreprenant . .	74	
Le Scipion . . .	74	Brulé à Livorne.
Le Genereux . .	74	Conservé à Toulon.

FREGATES.	CANONS.	
La Perle . . .	40	Restés avec l'armée Anglaise.
L'Arethuse . . .	40	
L'Aurore . . .	32	Armé par les Anglais.
La Topaze . . .	32	Mise en comisn. par l'ordre de l'aml. Hood.
L'Alceste . . .	32	Resté au pouvoir des Sardes.

CORVETTES.	CANONS.	
Le Poulette . . .	26	Restés avec l'armée Anglaise.
Le Tarleton . . .	14	
La Caroline . .	20	Brulés à Toulon.
L'Auguste . . .	20	
La Bellette . . .	26	Armés par les Anglais.
La Proselyte . .	24	
La Sincère . . .	20	
La Mulet . . .	20	
La Moselle . . .	20	
La L'Emproye . .	20	Armé par les Neapolitans.
La Petite Aurore . .	18	Armé par les Espagnols.
Le Pluvier . . .	20	Envoyé à Bôurdeaux.

En Armement lors de l'Entrée de l'Armée Anglaise à Toulon.

VAISSEAUX.	CANONS.	
Le Triumphant	80	Brulés à Toulon.
Le Suffisant	74	
Le Puissant	74	Resté avec l'armée Anglaise.
Le Dauphin Royal	120	Conservé à Toulon.
FREGATES.	CANONS.	
La Serieuse	32	Brulé à Toulon.

Dans le Port ayant besoin d'être Reparés.

VAISSEAUX.	CANONS.	
Le Mercure	74	Brulés à Toulon.
La Couronne	80	
Le Conquérant	74	
Le Dictateur	74	
Le Languedoc	80	Conservés à Toulon.
Le Censeur	74	
Le Guerrier	74	
Le Souverain	74	
L'Alcide	74	Hors de service.
FREGATES.	CANONS.	
La Courageuse	32	Brulés à Toulon.
L'Iphigenie	32	
L'Alerte	16	
L'Iris	32	Depôts de poudre,
Le Montreal	32	Brulés à Toulon.
La Lutine	32	Armé en bombarde par les Anglais.
La Bretonne	18	Conservé à Toulon.

En Commissions avant l'Entrée de l'Armée Anglaise à Toulon.

VAISSEAUX.	CANONS.	
La Duquesné	74	En Levant.
FREGATES.	CANONS.	
La Sibile	40	En Levant.
La Sensible	32	
La Melpomène	40	

FREGATES.	CANONS.	
La Minerve	40	En Levant.
La Fortunée	40	
La Flèche	24	
La Fauvette	24	
L'Impérieuse	40	Prises par les Anglois.
La Modeste	32	
L'Eclair	20	Do.
La Vestale	36	A Ville-Franche.
La Badine	24	
Le Hazard	20	
La Mignone	32	En Corse.
La Brune	24	A Cette.
La Junon	40	Disarmé à Toulon.

En Construction.

Un Vaisseau de 74 canons.
Deux Frégates de 40 „

The following letter of the 21st of December, addressed to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, describes the process of the evacuation :—

"SIR,

"In my letter of the 12th instant I had the honour to acquaint you, that from the 30th of November to that time no particular event had taken place, and that the fire of the enemy was less frequent. During this period they were daily receiving reinforcements, from every quarter, and both sides were busily employed, we in strengthening our posts, and the enemy in establishing new batteries against Cape Brun and Malbousquet, but principally against Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Balaguier.

"From all concurring accounts of deserters, and others, the enemy's army was now between 30,000 and

40,000 men, and an attack upon our posts was to be daily expected. These, from their essential though detached situations, had been severally strengthened, in the proportion their circumstances required, having such central force in the town as was deemed necessary for its immediate guard, and for affording a degree of succour to any point that might be more particularly attacked.

"For the complete defence of the town and its extensive harbour, we had long been obliged to occupy a circumference of at least fifteen miles, by eight principal posts, with their several intermediate dependent ones; the greatest part of these were merely of a temporary nature, such as our means allowed us to construct; and of our force, which never exceeded 12,000 men bearing firelocks, and composed of five different nations and languages, near 9000 were placed in or supporting those posts, and about 3000 remaining in the town.

"On the 16th, at half-past two o'clock in the morning, the enemy, who had before fired from three batteries on Fort Mulgrave, now opened two new ones, and continued a very heavy cannonade and bombardment on that post till next morning. The works suffered much. The number of men killed and disabled was considerable. The weather was rainy, and the consequent fatigue great.

"At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th the enemy, who had every advantage in assembling and suddenly advancing, attacked the fort in great force.

"Although no part of this temporary post was such as could well resist determined troops, yet, for a con-

siderable time, it was defended; but, on the enemy entering on the Spanish side, the British quarter, commanded by Captain Conolly, of the 18th regiment, could not be much longer maintained, notwithstanding several gallant efforts were made for that purpose. It was, therefore, at last carried, and the remains of the garrison of 700 men retired towards the shore of Balaguier, under the protection of the other posts established on those heights, and which continued to be faintly attacked by the enemy. As this position of Balaguier was a most essential one for the preservation of the harbour, and as we had no communication with it but by water, 2200 men had been placed there for some time past. On the night preceding the attack, 300 more men had been sent over, and, on the morning of the 17th, 400 were embarked still farther to support it.

"When the firing at Balaguier ceased we remained in anxious suspense as to the event till a little before day-light, when a new scene opened, by an attack upon all our posts on the mountain of Pharon. The enemy were repulsed on the east side, where was our principal force of about 700 men, commanded by a most distinguished officer, the Piedmontese colonel, De Jermagnan, whose loss we deeply lament; but on the back of the mountain, near 1800 feet high, steep, rocky, deemed almost inaccessible, and which he had laboured much to make so, they found means, once more, to penetrate between our posts, which occupied an extent of above two miles, guarded by 450 men, and, in a very short space of time, we saw that with great numbers of men they crowded all that side of the mountain

which overlooks Toulon. The particulars of this event I am not yet enabled to ascertain, but I have every reason to think that they did not enter a British post.

"Our line of defence, which, as I have mentioned, occupied a circumference of at least fifteen miles, and with points of which we had only a water communication, being thus broken in upon in its two most essential posts, it became necessary to adopt decisive measures, arising from the knowledge of the whole of our actual situation. A council of the flag and general officers assembled. They determined on the impracticability of restoring the posts we had lost, and on the consequent propriety of the speedy evacuation of the town, evidently, and by the report of the engineers and artillery officers, declared untenable. Measures of execution were taken from that moment. The troops were withdrawn from the heights of Balaguier without much interruption from the enemy, and in the evening such posts as necessarily depended on the possession of Pharon were successfully evacuated, and the troops drawn in towards Toulon. The forts D'Artigues and St. Catherine still remained, together with the posts of Sablettes, Cape Brun, and Malbousquet, from which last the Spaniards withdrew in the night, in consequence of the supporting post of Neapolitans at Micissey having left the battery there established, and abandoned it without orders. Every attention was also given to ensure the tranquillity of the town. In the night the combined fleets took a new station in the outer road.

"Early in the morning of the 18th the sick and wounded, and the British field artillery were sent off.

In the course of the day the post of Cape Brun was withdrawn into La Malgue, the post of Sablettes was also retired, and the men were put on board. Measures were arranged for the final embarkation during the night of the British, Piedmontese, and Spaniards, who occupied the town, and of the troops of the same nations who were now at La Malgue, amounting in all to about 7000 men, for the Neapolitans had by midnight embarked.

"Having determined with Lieutenant-General Gravina, commanding the Spanish troops, that, instead of embarking at the quays and in the arsenal of the town, our whole force should assemble near Fort La Malgue, and form on the peninsula which from thence extends into the harbour; every previous disposition was made, and every care taken to conceal our intention. The arsenal and dockyard were strictly guarded. The troops were ranged accordingly on the ramparts, and the tranquillity of the town was much insured from the time the enemy began to throw shells and shot into it, which they did from our late batteries at Micissey and Malbousquet.

"About ten o'clock at night fire was set to the ships and arsenal.

"We immediately began our march and the evacuation of the town, which it was necessary should be made with secrecy and expedition. The fort of St. Catherine having, without orders, been quitted in the course of the day, and possessed by the enemy, the consequent early knowledge of our march, had we taken the common route, through the gate of Italy, and within musket-shot of that fort, might have produced

great inconvenience; we, therefore, by a sally-port, gained an advanced part of the road, and without accident were enabled to quit the town, arrive at Fort La Malgue, and form on the rising ground immediately above the shore. The boats were ready, the weather and the sea in the highest degree favourable. The embarkation began about eleven o'clock, and by day-break on the 19th the whole, without interruption or the loss of a man, were on board ship.

"The great fire in the arsenal, the blowing up of the powder ships, and other similar events which took place in the night, certainly tended to keep the enemy in a state of suspense and uncertainty.

"As the security of this operation depended much on the protection afforded from the happy situation of Fort La Malgue, which so effectually commands the neck of the peninsula, and the judicious use that should be made of its artillery, this important service was allotted to Major Koehler, with 200 men, who after seeing the last man off the shore, and spiking all the guns, effected, from his activity and intelligence, his own retreat without loss.

"Captains Elphinstone, Hallowell, and Mathews, superintended the embarkation, and to their indefatigable attention and good dispositions we are indebted for the happy success of so important an operation.

"Captain Elphinstone, as governor of Fort La Malgue, has ably afforded me the most essential assistance in his command and arrangement of the several important posts included in that district.

"It is impossible for me to express but in general terms, the approbation that is due to the conduct and

merits of the several commanding officers, and, indeed, of every officer in every rank and situation. Troops have seldom experienced, for so long a time, a service more harassing, distressing, and severe; and the officers and men of the regiments and marines have gone through it with that exertion, spirit, and good-will, which peculiarly distinguish the British soldier. At Fort Mulgrave, Lieutenant Duncan, of the royal artillery, was so essentially useful, that to his exertions and abilities that post was much indebted for its preservation for so long a time.

"The general service has been carried on with the most perfect harmony and zeal of the navy and army. From our deficiency in artillerymen, many of our batteries were worked by seamen. They, in part, guarded some of our posts, and their aid was particularly useful in duties of fatigue and labour. In all these we found the influence of the superior activity and exertions of the British sailors.

"It was the constant attention of Lord Hood to relieve our wants and alleviate our difficulties.

"The Sardinian troops we have always considered as a part of ourselves. We have experienced their attachment and good behaviour, and I have found much assistance from the ability and conduct of the Chevalier de Revel, and from Brigadier-General Richler, who commands them.

"Notwithstanding the undefined situation of command, I found every disposition and acquiescence in Lieutenant-General Gravina, commanding the Spanish troops, to execute every proposed measure which the common cause required.

"The loss of the British on the 17th, at Fort Mulgrave, on the heights of Pharon, amounts to about 300 men, of which, during the last four days, no exact account could be procured: and as the troops in embarking were put on board the nearest and most convenient ships, till they are again united in corps, I cannot have the honour of transmitting particular returns, not even knowing the detail of circumstances that attended the attack of those posts.

"It is now about three weeks that, from the unfortunate accident of General O'Hara being made prisoner, the government of Toulon devolved on me; my best exertions have not been wanting in that situation, and I humbly hope that his majesty may be pleased to look upon them in a favourable light.

"I beg leave to add, that the royal battalion of Louis, and two independent companies of French chasseurs, raised at Toulon, have behaved, on every occasion, with fidelity and spirit. They embarked at La Malgue, to the number of about 600 men, and are now with us.

"DAVID DUNDAS, Lieut.-Gen."

On the morning of the 15th January, 1794, Sir Sidney Smith and Major Moncrief arrived at the office of the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department, with dispatches from Vice-Admiral Lord Hood and Major-General David Dundas, of which the following are copies and extracts:—

" Victory, Hieres Bay, Dec. 20, 1793.

" SIR,

" It is my duty to acquaint you, that I have been obliged to evacuate Toulon, and to retire from the harbour to this anchorage.

" It became unavoidably necessary that the retreat should not be deferred beyond that night, as the enemy commanded the town and ships by their shot and shells ; I therefore, agreeable to the governor's plan, directed the boats of the fleet to assemble by eleven o'clock near Fort La Malgue, and am happy to say the whole of the troops were brought off, to the number of near 8000, without the loss of a man ; and, in the execution of this service I have infinite pleasure in acknowledging my very great obligations to Captain Elphinstone for his unremitting zeal and exertion, who saw the last man off, and it is a very comfortable satisfaction to me that several thousands of the meritorious inhabitants of Toulon were sheltered in his majesty's ships.

" I purpose sending the Vice-admirals Hotham and Cosby, with some other ships, to Leghorn or Porto Ferrara, to complete their wine and provisions, which run very short, having many mouths to feed, and to remain with the rest to block up the ports of Toulon and Marseilles. Circumstances which had taken place made the retreat absolutely necessary to be effected as soon as possible, and prevented the execution of a settled arrangement for destroying the French ships and arsenal. I ordered the Vulcan fire-ship to be primed, and Sir Sidney Smith, who joined me from

Smyrna about a fortnight ago, having offered his service to burn the ships, I put Captain Hare under his orders, with the Lieutenants Tupper and Gore of the Victory, Lieutenant Pater of the Britannia, and Lieutenant R. W. Miller of the Windsor Castle. Ten of the enemy's ships of the line in the arsenal, with the mast-house, great store-house, hemp-house, and other buildings, were totally destroyed, and before daylight all his majesty's ships, with those of Spain and the Two Sicilies, were out of the reach of the enemy's shot and shells, except the Robust, which was to receive Captain Elphinstone, and she followed very soon after, without a shot striking her. I have under my orders Rear Admiral Trogoff, in the Commerce de Marseilles, Puissant, and Pompée, of the line, the Pearl, Arethusa, and Topaze, frigates, and several large corvettes, which I have manned, and employed in collecting wine and provisions from the different ports in Spain and Italy, having been constantly in want of one species or another, and am now at short allowance.

Don Langara undertook to destroy the ships in the basin, but, I am informed, found it not practicable; and, as the Spanish troops had the guarding the powder-vessels, which contained the powder of the ships I ordered into the basin and arsenal on my coming here, as well as that from the distant magazines within the enemy's reach, I requested the Spanish admiral would be pleased to give orders for their being scuttled and sunk; but instead of doing that, the officer to whom that duty was intrusted, blew them up, by which two fine gun-boats which I had ordered to attend Sir Sidney Smith were shook to pieces. The

lieutenant commanding one of them was killed, and several seamen badly-wounded. I am sorry to add, that Lieutenant Goddard, of the Victory, who commanded the seamen upon the heights of Grasse, was wounded, but I hope and trust not dangerously.

I beg to refer you for farther particulars to General Dundas, respecting the evacuation of Toulon; and to Sir Sidney Smith as to the burning of the enemy's ships, &c., on which service he very much distinguished himself, and he gives great praise to Captain Hare, of the fire-ship, as well as to all the lieutenants employed under him.

It is with peculiar satisfaction I have the honour to acquaint you, that the utmost harmony, and most cordial understanding, has happily subsisted in his majesty's army and fleet, not only between the officers of all ranks, but between the seamen and soldiers also.

"I herewith transmit a copy of Sir Sidney Smith's letter to me, with a list of the officers employed under him, and also a return of officers and seamen killed and wounded at Fort Mulgrave on the 17th.

"I have the honour, &c. HOOD.

"P.S. The list of the ships at Toulon that were burnt, and those remaining, has been received since writing my letter."

The following letter of Sir Sidney Smith to Sir William Hamilton, written six days after the burning of the fleet and arsenal, contains, as he truly says, "the painful recital of a disagreeable day's work." It presents, indeed, a most deplorable picture of a city and

its inhabitants divided against themselves, and slaughtering each other, "a scene that was heightened, and one's feelings tortured," as Sir Sidney says, "by the lamentations of women and children, who, with their husbands or fathers, were obliged to leave their homes and their property to save their lives, under the certainty of a public execution, if they escaped the massacre to be expected, on an enraged and merciless enemy entering the town."

In this important letter is set at rest the somewhat doubtful conduct of the Spaniards. The difficulty Sir Sidney had of procuring boats induced him to ask Langara for his gun-boats, which, he says, were reluctantly granted, and as reluctantly followed him—"they disappeared soon afterwards, *and I never saw them more.*" His own Swallow Tender, three English tartan gunboats, a Spanish felucca, a mortar-boat without ammunition, and the Victory's pinnace,—this was the inadequate force with which he rowed into the dockyard and accomplished that great feat, for which he afterwards suffered at the hands of a relentless enemy, as might be expected; and for which he received no remuneration whatever from his own government, because, being on half-pay, he held no appointment. Such is the regulation—but a mere subterfuge in this special case; and if the two following direct and positive *orders* of the commander-in-chief are of no effect, where is the encouragement for a half-pay officer, even when on public service, to undertake a most hazardous and most dangerous enterprise—"It *must be* undertaken, and *you must* do it, and burn every French ship?"

COPY OF A LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, AT NAPLES.

"Victory, in Hieres Bay, Dec. 24th, 1793.

"My Dear Sir,

"The combined forces evacuated Toulon on the 17th past. I would gladly spare myself the painful recital of so disagreeable a day's work, but I feel obliged to acquit myself of the task, as the account of it cannot but be very acceptable to you, and you have a right to expect it of me.

"The necessity of keeping possession of the heights round the anchorage, so as to prevent the enemy raising batteries against the fleet, obliged the army to occupy a chain of posts of near fifteen miles in circumference, from Cape Brun round the town to Cape Cepet; the distance these posts were from each other reduced them to stand on their own legs, though the number of men disembarked (not quite 18,000 of all nations) was by no means sufficient to man them all, still less to afford a regular relief in the severe duties of raising works to stand a siege; thus the excess of fatigue, together with the exposure of the troops under tents at an advanced season of the year, necessarily produced sickness, which, together with casualties and desertions, caused a daily diminution of our force, that was scarcely balanced by the arrival of small detachments from time to time. Discord, the natural consequence of the assemblage of so many nations, shewed itself on every occasion, extending *from the chief* to the *private sentinels*, so that nothing went on with spirit. There was no commander-in-

chief acknowledged as such by all; the natural preponderance of the British commanders, from the number of subsidiary troops under their orders, was constantly resisted by the Spaniards, and became a perpetual source of jealousy, which was carried to such a length, as to create a positive animosity between the subordinate officers, each party taking a delight in quoting any anecdote which could throw blame on the conduct of the other.

"The decree of the national convention to raise an army against Toulon by the *lévé en masse*, had produced a force around us, which all reports stated to be at least 120,000 men; their distress for provisions urged them on to the immediate attack of Toulon, where they expected to find a sufficiency, and all the accounts of deserters agreed, that the republican generals were using every means, by persuasion and threats, to incite the soldiers to the enterprise. This situation of things, while it afforded little hopes to the royalists of an effectual effort in their favour, encouraged the democrats in the town, which were by far the greatest number, to form plots, to favour the attack of the republican army. The discovery of this disposition among the majority of the townspeople dictated the measure of disarming them, and the impossibility of discriminating, rendered the order general, which increased the number of the discontented—the royalists being offended by the want of confidence shewn in them.

"As a prelude to the general assault, the enemy directed an uninterrupted fire of shot and shells against the post of the *Hauteur de Grasse* for *several days and nights*. The troops, being unsheltered from the shells,

suffered much, and were so harassed, that it is not to be wondered at they were not able to resist the attack which the enemy made on that post in the rainy stormy night of the sixteenth. The accusation of the post having been surprised falls entirely on the Spaniards, whose part of the works the enemy first entered; our people drove them out again, but were at length overpowered and destroyed by numbers; the proof of their gallant defence is in the wounds of those who escaped, being all with the bayonet. I forbear to repeat the mutual accusations made by the different nations of each other; during the whole of this business from beginning to end, candour obliges one to allow that each may be able to produce single facts of misconduct, but those ought not to be advanced as sufficient to support assertions of general censure. The English troops were least numerous of any nation, therefore less was to be expected of them; however, they stood their ground so well, that the accusation of abandoning posts of consequence without orders, *unattacked*, has never been extended to them.

"The morning of the 17th, discovered the enemy in possession of the important post of Fort Mulgrave, on the *Hauteur de Grasse*, and the motley crew of all nations stationed to defend it, crowding to the water, like the herd of swine that ran furiously into the sea possessed of a devil (surely fear is a strange devil, for it makes men do most ridiculous things). Multitudes of the enemy were also found to have possessed themselves of the heights of Faron, which command the town, having forced the *pas de la masque:* they were, however, repulsed in their attack of our redoubt with

considerable loss. At this conjuncture, the council of all nations was assembled, and the first question agitated was, whether a sufficient force could be detached from the garrison of the town to recover the post above mentioned, or to reinforce those immediately menaced: it was decided that the small garrison of 1,500 men, which remained in the town, could not be further weakened with safety, at a moment when there was the greatest reason to apprehend a revolt among the townspeople within the walls. The next question was, whether the place was tenable without the possession of those posts, which was decided in the negative; orders were consequently given to evacuate the whole, and for as many of the royalists as chose to take refuge on board the ships, to be assisted therein. The idea of '*sauve qui peut*,' now seemed to possess everybody; the fleets of the different nations, alarmed at the idea of being burnt by red hot shot, or shells from Fort Mulgrave, Balaquer, and Sequillette (now in possession of the enemy), weighed anchor, and crowded out of the road in such haste, as to alarm the troops on shore, lest they should be left behind; indeed many of the Neapolitan and Spanish soldiers would have been so left, had not the English squadron stayed to receive them, after the ships of their own nations were gone. This I aver to be the fact, and I wonder by what system of reasoning an admiral can consider himself responsible to his sovereign for the safety of *the fleet alone*, when the army is equally under his care; yet this was the language.

"The little order that had been hitherto preserved on shore was destroyed by this precipitation, which gave

the retreat every appearance of a most disgraceful flight. This disagreeable scene was heightened, and one's feelings tortured, by the lamentations of women and children, who, with their husbands or fathers, were obliged to leave their homes and their property, to save their lives, under the certainty of a public execution, if they escaped the massacre to be expected, on an enraged and merciless enemy entering the town. The impatience of officers and brutality of the soldiers, in claiming a preference at the place of embarkation, increased the confusion,—in short the whole of this horrid scene is not describable,—a few muskets fired in the town, perhaps from the windows, by some madheaded republican, raised a cry that their party had made a revolution in the town; the tumult and pressure, on this alarm, became such, that many were forced into the water and drowned.

"I happened to be near the admiral at the time this report came to him, and took the opportunity of again urging a request I had before made, to have the gunboats put under my command, being confident that I could keep any mob in order by grape shot; and having less reason to be apprehensive of being set on fire by the enemy's red hot shot and shells than the ships had, I knew I could keep my station so as to awe the town to the last, and cover the embarkation; this request of mine being granted, I next urged the burning of the arsenal, a measure which had been resolved on in the council, but which being everybody's business in general, became nobody's in particular; for this reason I volunteered it, under the disadvantage of there being no previous preparation for it

whatever, on such short notice; and Lord Hood did me the honour of the favour to confide this hazardous service to me, which was the more difficult as but few boats could be spared from the business of embarking the troops. I went on board the Conception to ask Admiral Langara for his gun-boats; they were reluctantly granted me, and as reluctantly followed me; they disappeared soon afterwards, and I never saw them more. My force was consequently reduced to the Swallow Tender, three English tartan gun-boats, a Spanish felucca, a mortar boat without ammunition, and the Victory's pinnace; with this force (inadequate as it was), I rowed into the basin of the dock-yard; a Spanish felucca joined me afterwards, with an aide-de-camp destined to command the force which had disappeared, and with which he was to undertake the burning the ships in the basin before the town; he stayed with me to the last, and behaved well personally, but never could collect force enough to perform the particular branch of the service which I destined for him, while we were fully occupied in the arsenal."

It may be added, that in the very evening of the night in which Sir Sidney burnt the ships, stores, and arsenal, he received the two following orders from Lord Hood, at a time when, as Sir Sidney says, "*I volunteered it under the disadvantage of there being no previous preparation for it whatever.*"

COPY OF TWO LETTERS FROM LORD HOOD TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Victory, December 18th, 3 p.m.

"My dear Sir Sidney,

"You *must* burn every French ship you possibly can, and consult the governor the proper hour of doing it, on account of the bringing off the troops,

"Very faithfully yours,

"Hood."

"December 18th, 6 p.m.

"My dear Sir Sidney,

"I am sorry you are so apprehensive of difficulty in the service you volunteered for. It *must* be undertaken, and if it does not succeed to my wishes, it will very probably facilitate the getting off the governor and the troops in safety, which is an object; the conflagration may be advantageous to us—no enterprise of war is void of danger and difficulty—both must be submitted to. "Ever faithfully your's,

"Hood."

In more than one narrative may be found allusions to the horrid barbarities committed by Buonaparte at Toulon against the royalists, who had declared against the tyranny of the directory, and had invited the assistance of the English to re-establish the monarchy; but the following contains a specific charge against the young artillerist, and exhibits an early specimen of the future cruelty of the tyrant. It comes from the spot where the horrid deed is said to have been perpetrated.

A friend of Sir Sidney's received from him, and has placed in writing the following account of a murderous

breach of promise committed by Buonaparte at Toulon; he writes as follows:—

"Sir Sidney used to relate an anecdote of Napoleon, the mention of which will no doubt raise denials from the friends of the fallen dynasty; but such is the high sense we entertain of our hero's honour and truth, of his utter incapability of asserting as a fact any thing that did not come within his own knowledge, that we do not hesitate to put it on record, satisfied that, though it may meet with the most violent denunciations and denials, the fact cannot be controverted.

"At the time of Sir Sidney's gallant achievement of the destruction of the French fleet at Toulon, the royalists and the liberated convicts had been driven into the great square of that city, and were compressed together in one huge mass. Buonaparte, who then commanded the artillery, fired upon the people, and mowed them down like grass; those who had escaped his fire threw themselves upon the ground, hoping to avoid their threatened doom, when the future emperor of the French, taking advantage of the first moment of awful stillness which prevailed after the roaring of the cannon, exclaimed in a loud voice, 'The vengeance of the French republic is satisfied—rise and go to your homes,' which summons the wretched people no sooner attempted to obey than a second murderous discharge of his artillery hurled them into eternity."

The narration of this act of unprecedented cruelty and duplicity, more bold than, but not unlike in its character to, the poisoning of the sick and prisoners in Egypt, will of course give offence to the admirers of

Napoleon, who, for a tyrant, for he may not properly be called an usurper, was, so say his admirers, as far as personal revenge is concerned, as bloodless as any man who ever seized the reins of government; but, observes the friend of Sir Sidney Smith, "he," Sir Sidney, "has so often declared to me the truth of this anecdote, that I think it would be treason to his honour and good faith to doubt it, even though the spirits of the imperial guard stood forth to give it contradiction."

It has not been contradicted, but confirmed in France by his own friends, and even, it is said, by his own brother.

In a circumstantial and apparently a fair narrative of the life of Napoleon, speaking of the horrible massacres that succeeded to the evacuation of Toulon, it is said, "*On compta jusqu' à deux mille victimes dans une semaine; quand les échafauds ne pouvent y suffire, on les fusilla par centaines. Il a été dit, dans quelques écrits, que ce fut Napoleon qui commanda ces exécutions, et l'on a cité une lettre signée Brutus Buonaparte, dans laquelle il en aurait rendu compte, avec d'horribles expressions.*" * Whatever was the delirium of that *epoque*, and the part which the young artillery officer took therein, he was, they say, no doubt calumniated;—and why?—because the massacres of Toulon were executed by discharges of musketry, and that Buonaparte there only commanded the artillery. The fact is not true in either case—Buonaparte did command, and the groups were mowed down by the artillery.

* Said to have been written by his brother Lucien, and generally believed.

CHAPTER VII.

1794—1795.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH APPOINTED TO THE DIAMOND FRIGATE.—EMPLOYED IN CLEARING THE CHANNEL OF FRENCH CRUISERS AND PRIVATEERS, AND IN ATTACKING VARIOUS POINTS AND PORTS OF THE COAST.—EXAMINES BREST HARBOUR.—CAPTURED OFF THE PORT OF HAVRE IN A LUGGER.—SENT TO PARIS AS A PRISONER.

January 15th, 1794.

THE two officers, Sir Sidney Smith and Major Moncrief, who were sent with despatches from Lord Hood and Major-General Dundas, arrived in London on the above-mentioned day, bringing an account of the final evacuation of Toulon. They were most graciously received by his majesty's ministers; and Lord Spencer, in particular, noticed the prompt and energetic manner in which Sir Sidney Smith had volunteered his services, and by which alone, after all had been given up, the tremendous destruction of the enemy's ships and arsenal was effected, as has been described in the foregoing chapter.

To Lord Spencer, then, as first lord of the admiralty, may be ascribed Sir Sidney's early appointment to the command of the Diamond frigate; and his lordship appears to have taken such an interest in the ship or her commander, or both, that, when she was in all respects ready for sea, and was ordered to proceed to the Downs, she was joined, on the 21st of July, 1794,

by the Earl Spencer, the Honourable Thomas Grenville, and Colonel Ross; and here Sir Sidney received orders to proceed to Flushing, from whence the commander reports his arrival on the following morning; and, on the 28th, acquaints the board that Lord Moira and his suite are embarked on board the Diamond for a passage to England, and that he will sail the moment it is practicable to pass the narrow channel, against a strong wind blowing fresh from the westward. He arrived in the Downs on the 3rd of August.

When at Flushing he remarks, that "the enemy are cannonading in the neighbourhood of Sluys, and some parties have shewn themselves on the strand abreast the ship, on the Island of Cadsand, where they are erecting a battery. They have tried four shots," he says, "in this direction, but the distance is too great to reach this road, or to annoy any vessel coming in by the Doerlo Channel; a ship of large draft of water might come within gun-shot of the shore by the Welling Channel, but gun-boats appear to be the only force capable of acting to advantage, in throwing succours into Sluys; there are thirty preparing at Helvoet, of a small size, but carrying an eighteen pounder in the prow."

The Diamond appears to have been kept for three or four months, under the immediate orders of the admiralty, moving from port to port, not perhaps so much for the sake of having her at hand, as for that of detaining her merely until the squadron of smaller vessels of various kinds, then in preparation, were placed under the command of Sir Sidney Smith. They were not all ready till the 14th of March, 1795, when he received the following order :—

"Having ordered the captains and commanding officers of his majesty's ships and vessels named in the enclosed list to put themselves under your command, and to follow your orders for their further proceedings, you are hereby required and directed to take them, and the said ships and vessels under your command accordingly.

"Given, &c., 14th of March, 1795."

"Sir W. S. Smith."

RATE.	GUNS.	SHIP'S NAME.	COMMANDERS.
Fifth	32	La Sybille	Edward Cooke.
„	„	Syren	Graham Moore.
Sloop	„	Childers	——— Dacres.
Floating Battery		Spanker	Edward Tyrrell.
Fire-vessels	...	Amity	Mr. William Symes.
		Firebrand	„ Benj. Morgan.
		Heart of Oak	„ ——— Fraser.
		Industry	„ John Milner.
		Lively	„ William Rosson.
		Nancy	„ J. Brown.
Schooner gun-boats	...	Aimwell	Lieut. James Bunce.
		Attack	„ T. E. Hinton.
		Borer	„ George Holwell.
		Conquest	„ Francis Vesey.
		Force	„ W. R. Davis.
		Fearless	„ John Twisden.
		Pelter	„ N. Tomlinson.
		Plumper	„ ———
		Piercer	„ William Elliott.
		Swinger	„ Wm. Hesketh.
		Tickler	„ James Goman.
		Teazer	„ Matthew Smith.
		Musquito	„ Wm. M'Carthy.
		Sandfly	„ John Chilcot.
Dutch hoy gun-boats	...	Hawke	Lieut. H. Hicks.
		Badger	„ L. Mortlock.
		Shark	„ Charles Burlton.
		Serpent	„ John Lundin.
Lugger	...	Black Joke	Lieut. Richard Clark.
Armed boat	...	Dchs. of York	———

Sir Sidney, however, did not wait till the above official order was made out, which reached him only some time after he had proceeded to several ports in the channel, and had placed himself, in succession, under the orders of such senior officers as he might find on their respective stations, taking with him such of his squadron as had joined him. Thus, on the 4th of September, 1794, he dates Diamond, off Rock Douvre, to Sir Evan Nepean.

"Diamond, off Rock Douvre, Sept. 4th, 1794.

"SIR,

"I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's squadron under my orders has had some success in the three days which have elapsed since the date of my last letter.

"During a temporary separation, for the purpose of covering more ground, the Syren fell in with and detained another ship with 1896 barrels of flour, from Philadelphia to Havre de Grace.

"The corvette I was in pursuit of with the Diamond, when I wrote last, secured herself in Brehat; I had, however, the good fortune to fall in with another at daylight in the morning of the 2nd instant; three quarters of an hour's chase brought us within gun-shot of her. She endeavoured to elude our pursuit in the labyrinth of rocks before Tregnier, but the attempt proved fatal to her, as she struck on the Roenna, and soon after filled and fell over; we ceased our fire immediately, and sent our boats to save the crew; her own boats, which were towing her, saved as many as

they could carry; we were not fortunate enough to save more than nine; they reckon about twenty perished, besides the captain, who was washed off the wreck a few minutes before our boats reached them; her name was L'Assemblée Nationale, of twenty-two guns, eight pounders, on the main deck, and 200 men; from Brest bound to St. Maloes; the swell was so great that she went to pieces very soon, and we were obliged to anchor among the rocks to avoid a similar fate.

"Captain Dacres, who had been detached in the Childers on the look out, rejoined me this morning; he reports that he yesterday saw the Temeraire 74, two frigates, four brigs, and two cutters, ready for sea, in St. Maloes. On his return he fell in with and captured the Vigilant, French cutter of six guns, one of the *guard de côtes*, in the bay of St. Brieux. The Syren and La Sybille having rejoined me, I am proceeding in the execution of their lordships' last orders, communicated to me in your letter of the 25th August.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"Evan Nepean, Esq."

The board expressed their approval of his conduct, and were pleased with his success.

After calling at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Falmouth, he found, at the latter place, an order to put himself, together with three other frigates, under the orders of Sir John Borlase Warren, captain of La Pomone, all of which, with this gallant commander, put to sea, the admiralty having received accounts that the French fleet, under Admiral Villaret de Joyeuse, had

sailed from Brest on a cruise. It was deemed most important to ascertain the fact, by reconnoitring Brest, and endeavour to find out their destination, if true. The Diamond was selected by the commodore to execute the hazardous enterprise of examining Brest harbour:—"but, take care, Sir Sidney, we have no frigate-fighting!"

The following letter is given at length, displaying, as it does, a degree of ingenuity, of self-confidence and moral courage, not often met with in a young officer of 30 years; and it may be said, in the first ship of war he had commanded; for no opportunity had occurred during the short period he was in command of the Alcmene.

"Diamond, at sea, January 4th, 1795.

"SIR,

"In pursuance of your orders, I this morning looked into the port of Brest, in his majesty's ship Diamond, under my command, in order to verify the intelligence of the enemy's fleet being at sea.

"I went round the west point of Ushant yesterday, and the wind being easterly, I was obliged to work to windward between the shoals off Point St. Mathew and the rocks to the southward, in order to come near enough to look into the road. We observed a large ship under French colours working in a-head, she took no notice of us, probably supposing that we were of her own nation from our making so free with the coast. I hoisted French colours, having previously disguised the figure of the ship, in order to favour such a deception. The tide of ebb coming strong out of the harbour, the enemy's ship anchored, and I accordingly, at sun-

set, anchored astern of her. I was in hopes when the flood made again, that she would have weighed, and proceeded up the passage, so that we might have done the same without approaching her so near as to risk the frustration of our object; but she continued to lie fast, and I was obliged either to relinquish the going close enough to the harbour to make my observations, or to alarm the coast by attacking her, or else to pass her silently, and thereby leave her in the channel of my retreat. I considered the occasion of my being detached from the squadron, as an object of sufficient national importance to justify all risks, and accordingly weighed, and passed her sufficiently near to observe by the light of the moon, that she was a line-of-battle ship.

"As we proceeded, we saw two other ships at anchor, one of which was evidently a frigate: not being satisfied that I should be able to discern the anchorage plainly, when the day broke, from my present position, I was obliged to go between these ships and the Toulinguet rocks, observing the precaution in passing, to give all orders in a low tone of voice, that the enemy might not hear us speak English: they took no notice of us; and by day-light in the morning of this day, I had obtained a position from whence I could discern the anchorage of Brest, sufficiently distinct to ascertain that there were no men of war in the road, which is the usual anchorage.

"N.B. The basin is not discoverable from without the fort.

"I observed the wreck of a large ship on Mingan Island. It now became necessary to make the best of

my way out of the passage; I accordingly altered my course for that purpose, taking a direction to re-pass the line-of-battle ship. A corvette, which was steering out in a parallel direction to us, was the first who took the alarm at this change of movement; she brought to, making signals, which communicated the alarm to the other two ships, and both hoisted their topsail yards immediately, and began getting under sail; my situation was now extremely critical. I saw, by the course the line-of-battle ship had taken, her intention to cut me off in my passage between her and the rocks, so that I could not effectuate it. There seemed no alternative but to remove their alarm, by a conduct that should bespeak ourselves unconcerned. I accordingly steered down directly within hail of this ship, which lay in my way between Basse Beuzec and the Trepieds. I could by this time see she was a disabled ship, pumping from leaks, with jury topmasts, and that some of her upper-deck ports were without guns; and to avoid being questioned in any way, that might embarrass me to answer, I began the conversation, in French, with the Captain, who was in the stern-gallery, accounting for my change of course, by saying, I observed his disabled state, and came down to him to know if I could render him any assistance; he answered, thanking me for the offer, but saying he had men enough, which indeed I could plainly perceive, as they were crowded on the gunwale and quarter, looking at our ship.

"I could not but form hopes, from the disabled state of this ship, that I should be able to preserve my present position under her stern, so as to rake her repeatedly; and thus beginning an action with such

advantages, as would be sufficient to ensure us a favourable issue to the contest. My guns were of course ready pointed, but I reflected that it was useless to fire, since I could not hope to secure the ship, and carry her off from the two others; and the execution of the service I was sent upon would be rendered totally abortive, by the unfavourable issue of so unequal a contest, as fighting the three together; the utmost then, that we could do, would be to give her a most destructive raking fire, and sail away; this, my men were both ready and eager for, but I overruled the proposition, considering the carnage must have been shocking, from the effect of our guns, double-loaded, enfilading a crowded ship within half a pistol-shot; and conceiving it both unmanly and treacherous to make such havoc, while speaking in friendly terms and offering our assistance. I trusted, therefore, that my country, though it might be benefited in a trifling degree by it, would gladly relinquish an advantage to be purchased at the expense of humanity, and the national character; and I hope, for these reasons, I shall stand justified in not having made use of the accidental advantage in my power for the moment. We parted, after much conversation, with mutual compliments; the French Captain telling me his ship's name was Le Caton, and I, in answer to his query, named my ship as one of the Norway squadron, which it was not likely he would know by sight. The other ships, observing we were spoken to by the Caton, discontinued the pursuit, and we passed the rocks unmolested. "I am Sir, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"To Sir John Warren, Bart., C.B."

On the 8th of May, Sir Richard Strachan reports, that, on being joined by Sir Sidney Smith, with his squadron, in Grenville Bay, Jersey, on the 9th, they discovered thirteen sail running along shore. Chase was given, when the enemy took shelter under a small battery, protected by their armed vessels, a brig and lugger. This mosquito fleet being followed by our ships, the enemy abandoned their vessels, which were boarded by our boat's crews, and brought off, except one small sloop which was burnt, and the battery ceased to fire. Sir Richard gives due praise to the officers and men of the five ships engaged: one lieutenant, one surgeon, one midshipman, and one petty officer, with fourteen seamen, were wounded, and one marine killed.

After separating from Sir Richard Strachan, the Diamond, with the Syren and seven gun-vessels, stood close in with St. Maloes: found lying there, two frigates, three armed brigs, an armed lugger, a schooner, and two cutters, with French colours; they hoisted theirs, and fired a shot at the fort, which returned three without effect. Chased a brig along shore, which anchored under protection of the castle of La Latte. The pilots refusing to carry the frigates further in, the gun-vessels attacked the brig, "while the Syren and Diamond engaged the attention of the castle." He speaks in high terms of the spirit and good effect of Lieutenants Twisden and Elliott, commanding the Fearless and Piercer, who had to contend against a number of troops assembled on the hills behind the battery. Lieutenant Hicks, of the Hawke, brought his gun to bear on the enemy's brig, while Mr. Knight, midshipman, of the Diamond, is said, "with infinite spirit, to have brought

the cannonade in the long boat to flank the troops on the hill behind the castle, and dislodged them, obliging them to abandon a field-piece they had brought to bear on him." The brig, however, took advantage of an interval of calm to run out a warp to the castle, by which she hauled under its walls, so as to be protected by musketry from the ramparts. Sir Sidney, however, not considering the object of sufficient importance to risk the loss of men in boarding her, made the signal to discontinue the attack, and haul out of the bay. In this skirmish two seamen were killed, and the Diamond lost one master's mate, and two seamen, killed by an accident.

The following complaint against the pilots is important, and measures were taken to have it rectified.

"Diamond, Plymouth, June 17th, 1795.

"SIR,

"I think it my duty to transmit the enclosed letters between Captain D'Auvergne, Prince of Bouillon, and myself, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, and to request that some measures may be taken in consequence, to encourage the pilots to offer themselves to serve in his majesty's ships. I can assure their lordships that the service has suffered, and must continue to suffer essentially, from the best pilots not having come forward, which has obliged us in many cases to relinquish the object of our chase at a moment when we were within gun-shot, and coming up fast.

"I have further to request, that the interval of time the pilots may be kept on board the senior officer's

ship, when taken from the vessel in which they have served, to be in readiness for another, may be allowed them as actual service on the certificate of the commanding or senior officer, and that when the pilots may be carried to England by any of his majesty's ships, prompt payment may be ordered to them, without deduction, on their personal application to the person that may be appointed at the port they may arrive at, together with an allowance or an adequate number of days' pay for their return home, the absence of these points having been represented to me by the pilots as grievances, and many declaring themselves at this day unpaid for former services duly certified.

"I am, sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) "WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH."

"Evan Nepean, Esq."

On the 5th of July, 1795, from the Diamond, off the islands of St. Marcou, Sir Sidney addressed the following letter :—

"TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"In pursuance of my orders, I sailed from St. Helen's on the evening of the 1st instant, and stretched across the channel towards Cherbourg, his majesty's ships, Siren, Sibylle, and four gun-boats in company. On looking into that port, we found that one of the three frigates, which had been seen there the last time we were off, was missing ; the master of a neutral vessel, just come out, informed me she had sailed to the eastward, and I accordingly proceeded in quest of her. Going round Cape Barfleur, we saw a convoy coming

along shore, within the islands of St. Marcou. The wind dying away, and the ebb tide making against me, I was obliged to anchor, and had the mortification to see the enemy's vessels drift with the tide under the batteries of La Hogue, without being able to approach them.

"At four o'clock in the morning of yesterday, the breeze springing up with the first of the flood, I made the signal to the squadron, weighed, and worked up towards the enemy's ships, which we observed warping closer in shore under the battery on La Hogue Point. As we approached I made the signal for each ship to engage as she came up with the enemy, and at nine o'clock began the action in the Diamond. The other frigates having been sent in chase, in different quarters the day before, had not been able to anchor so near in as we did, and were consequently to leeward, as were also two of the gun-boats. The Fearless and Attack were with me, and their commanders conducted them in a manner to merit my approbation, by drawing off the attention of the enemy's gun-boats, of which they had also two. The small vessels of the convoy ran into the pier before the town; the largest, a corvette, continued warping into shoal water: we followed, engaging her and the batteries for three quarters of an hour, when, finding that the enemy's ship had attained a situation where it was impossible to get fairly alongside of her without likewise grounding, and the pilots being positive as to the necessity of hauling off from the shore, where the water had already begun to ebb, I acquiesced under their representations, and wore ship. The Syren and Sibylle had come up by this time, and the zëal and ability of their commanders would, I am per-

suaded, have carried them into action with some effect, if I had not annulled the signal to engage, which I did to prevent them getting disabled, as we were, when we had no longer a prospect of making ourselves masters of the enemy's ship. She had suffered in proportion, and we now see her lying on her broadside, with her yards and topmasts struck; but, I am sorry to say, so much sheltered by the reef which runs off from La Hogue Point, that I cannot indulge a hope of her being destroyed. In justice to my officers and ship's company, I must add that their conduct was such as gave me satisfaction. I received the most able assistance from the first lieutenant, Mr. Pine, and Mr. Wilkie, the master, in working the ship, on the precision of which everything depended, circumstanced as we were with respect to the shoals and the enemy. The guns of the main-deck were well served, under the direction of Lieutenants Pearson and Sandsbury, and the men were cool and collected. No officer was hurt, but I am sorry to say I have lost one of the best quarter-masters in the ship, Thomas Gullen, killed, and two seamen wounded. The enemy fired high, or we should have suffered more materially from their red-hot shot, the marks of which were visible in the rigging. We have shifted our fore and main-topmasts, which, with two topsail-yards, were shot through; and having repaired our other more trifling damages, I shall proceed in the attainment of the object of the cruize. Fishing-boats, with which we have had an intercourse, confirm all former accounts of distress for want of provisions, and the consequent discontent in this distracted country.

"WM. SIDNEY SMITH."

From Vauville Bay, on the coast of Normandy, 13th June, he reports the watchful attention of the governor of Alderney, in communicating the enemy's motions. He observes little movement on shore—a troop of horse apparently to protect the latter—the gunboats are forbidden to fire at them, or at any other object on the shore ; and the commanders have orders, on all occasions, to respect fishing-boats, villages, and private dwellings within reach of their guns.

A great distress on shore prevails for want of bread, which creates the apprehension of an insurrection against the government. The coasting trade is completely interrupted.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

" Diamond, off Cherbourg, September 14th, 1795.

" SIR,

" I have to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that I was off Havre the day before yesterday. The difference in the state of the enemy's force, since I was last there, is that the large frigate which was building on the beach has been launched with precipitation, before the top of the spring tides afforded water enough, and she was bilged, but has been floated off with considerable damage. The Spartiate has been manned by drafts from Fécamp and Dieppe, and had bent her sails, but they are again unbent. Ten corvettes are fitting there; they are to carry 24-pounder guns, but the ordnance is not on the spot.

" Cherbourg remains *in statu quo*, with this difference,

that the Brilliant guardship has got out her lower masts, probably to serve a ship we see on the stocks nearly ready to launch.

"The post on St. Marcou was menaced with an assault by seventeen large armed boats full of men, on the 7th instant, during the absence of the frigate to the westward. On their approaching within gun-shot, on the north-east point of the eastermost island, the redoubts lately thrown up there opened a fire on them, which threw them into confusion, and being seconded by the gun vessels stationed to flank the islands, the enemy retreated with precipitation.

"Lieutenants Price and Chilcot, who commanded on the two islands, together with the officers and men under their command, appear to have acted with spirit and ability, and I was happy to observe a general confidence in the sufficiency of their strength, to repel any force that is likely to be brought against them. When I quitted them, I left the several vessels supplied for one month,—viz., the Sandfly, Badger, Shark, Hawk, Serpent, and Nancy. I have, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"Diamond at anchor, off the Islands of St. Marcou, October 1st, 1795.

"SIR,

"In consequence of intelligence received from Capt. D'Auvergne, prince of Bouillon, dated the 19th ulto., of a threatened attack on this post from Havre, I have hastened to this anchorage. I find the defences on the islands much strengthened by the exertions of the officers and crews of the several vessels stationed

here, under the direction of the captain of engineers, who pointed out those things that he judged most necessary for their immediate safety. Temporary platforms were judged absolutely requisite, and a part of the Serpent's materials have consequently been appropriated thereto. The Badger having parted from her anchors in the gale of the 28th, her men being on shore, she drove on the Western Island; her sternpost is damaged, and she is now hauled up on the shore, where she makes a great addition to the defences, as she becomes a block-house, habitable and defensible, capable of resisting an assault, should the enemy force a landing under the fire of a formidable artillery, which I think improbable, and which I would venture to pronounce to be impossible, if the guns I have mounted, in addition to those of the vessels, were manned in proportion. I hope, if their lordships judge proper to reinforce the ports, that they will order a party of veteran marines to do the duty of advanced guards. I am happy to find a spirit of zeal and confidence among officers and men, and their lordships may depend on every exertion on our part to defend the post to the last extremity, proportioned to our conviction of its utility, which is self-evident.

"I send demands for provisions addressed to the agent victualler at Portsmouth. Intercourse with the fishermen of the coast is now re-established, by the efforts I have made to regain their confidence; it was interrupted by the conduct of the Pitt privateer lugger, of Jersey, which made havoc among them, capturing three vessels, and ill-using the poor people.

"W. Sidney Smith."

On the 4th October, in Havre de Grace, Sir Sidney describes the force to consist of eight sail of Dutch hoy gun-boats, five brigs, and a schooner, moored in a line across the inner road; within them a lugger, three cutters, and a schooner. In the harbour twelve sail of pendants, three of them large frigates. A frigate and corvette in the basin. Two ships just launched, and two others ready for launching. "The gun-vessels have given us a few shot, which I have not thought it worth while to return, considering it useless to provoke a contest which could not end with any advantage to us in this shoal water, as I have no gun-boats with me."

The gun-boats had been paid off, as appears by the concluding sentence of the following somewhat characteristic letter, relating to some of the officers who were serving in them.

"Diamond, off the Calvados, October 7th, 1795.

"SIR,

"I herewith enclose you the letter and memorial of the lieutenants named in the margin, (Henry Hicks, James Gomm, Titus Alardice,) together with my observations thereon, and three documents referred to therein, for their lordships' information, as required.

"It will appear on the whole that these officers have been treated with great lenity.

"1st. By me, in not standing forward as a prosecutor.

"2nd. By the captains who made the inquiry, in not stating anything by way of comment or opinion on the facts adduced.

"3rd. By their lordships in not ordering a court-martial on the report.

"The accusers and the evidences are now dispersed by the gun-boats being paid off.

"Evan Nepean, Esq." "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

MINUTE OF THE BOARD.

"24th October. Acquaint them in answer to their memorial that, on a report which has been made by Sir Sidney Smith and the officers under his command, of the conduct of the memorialists, their lordships are satisfied the punishment inflicted on them has been of the most lenient nature, and that, if after this explanation they feel dissatisfaction, their lordships have no objection to cause their conduct to be investigated by a court-martial."

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"Diamond, off Cape Frehel, March 18, 1796.

"HAVING received information that the armed vessels, detached by the Prince of Bouillon, had chased a convoy, consisting of a corvette, two luggers, four brigs, and two sloops into Herqui, I proceeded off that port to reconnoitre their position, and found the channel very narrow and intricate. I succeeded, however, in gaining a knowledge of these points sufficient to determine me to attack them in the Diamond, without loss of time, and without waiting for the junction of any part of the squadron, lest the enemy should fortify themselves still further on our appearance.

"Lieutenant M'Kinley, of the Liberty brig, and Lieutenant Gosset, of the Aristocrat lugger, joined me

off the Cape, and, though not under my orders, very handsomely offered their services, which I accepted, as small vessels were essentially necessary in such an operation. The permanent fortification for the defence of the bay are two batteries on a high rocky promontory. We observed the enemy to be very busily employed in mounting a detached gun on a very commanding point of the entrance. At one o'clock yesterday afternoon this gun opened upon us as we passed. The Diamond's fire, however, silenced it in eleven minutes. The others opened on us as we came round the point, and, their commanding situation giving them a decided advantage over a ship in our position, I judged it necessary to adopt another mode of attack, and accordingly detached the marines and boarders to land behind the point, and take the batteries in the rear. As the boats approached the beach they met with a warm reception, and a temporary check from a body of troops drawn up to oppose their landing; the situation was critical, the ship being exposed to a most galling fire, and in intricate pilotage, with a considerable portion of her men thus detached. I pointed out to Lieutenant Pine the apparent practicability of climbing the precipice in front of the batteries, which he readily perceived, and, with an alacrity and bravery of which I have had many proofs in the course of our service together, he undertook and executed this hazardous service, landing immediately under the guns, and rendering himself master of them before the column of troops could regain the heights. The fire from the ship was directed to cover our men in this operation; it checked the enemy in their advancement

and the re-embarkation was effected, as soon as the guns were spiked, without the loss of a man; though we have to regret Lieutenant Carter of the marines being dangerously wounded on this occasion.

"The enemy's guns, three 24-pounders, being silenced and rendered useless for the time, we proceeded to attack the corvette and the other armed vessels, which had by this time opened their fire on us, to cover the operation of hauling themselves on shore. The Diamond was anchored as close to the corvette as her draft of water would allow. The Liberty brig was able to approach near; and on this occasion I cannot omit to mention the very gallant and judicious manner in which Lieutenant M'Kinley, her commander, brought this vessel into action, profiting by her light draft of water to follow the corvette close. The enemy's fire soon slackened, and the crew being observed to be making for the shore, on seeing the English colours hoisted on the hill, I made the signal for the boats, manned and armed, to board, directing Lieutenant Gosset, in the lugger, to cover them. This service was executed by the party from the shore, under the direction of Lieutenant Pine, in a manner that does them infinite credit, and him every honour as a brave man and an able officer. The enemy's troops occupied the high projecting rocks all round the vessels, from whence they kept up an incessant fire of musquetry, and the utmost that could be effected at the moment was to set fire to the corvette (named L'Etourdie, of 16 guns, 12-pounders, on the main deck) and one of the merchant brigs; since, as the tide fell, the enemy pressed down on the sands close to the vessels; Lieutenant

Pine, therefore, returned on board, having received a severe contusion on the breast from a musquet ball.

"As the tide rose again, it became practicable to make a second attempt to burn the remaining vessels. Lieutenant Pearson was accordingly detached for that purpose with the boats, and I am happy to add his gallant exertions succeeded to the utmost of my hopes, notwithstanding the renewed and heavy fire of musquetry from the shore. This fire was returned with great spirit and evident good effect, and I was much pleased with the conduct of Lieutenant Gosset in the hired lugger, and Mr. Knight in the Diamond's launch, who covered the approach and retreat of the boats. The vessels were all burnt except an armed lugger, which kept up her fire to the last.

"The wind and tide suiting at ten at night to come out of the harbour again, we weighed, and repassed the point of Herqui, from which we received a few shot, the enemy having found means to restore one of the guns to activity. Our loss, as appears by the enclosed return, is trifling, considering the nature of the enterprize, and the length of time we were exposed to the enemy's fire. Theirs, I am persuaded, must have been great, from the numbers within the range of our shot and shells. The conduct of every officer and man under my command meets with my warmest approbation; it would be superfluous to particularize any others than those I have named, suffice it to say, the characteristic bravery and activity of British seamen never were more conspicuous.

"Lieutenant Pine will have the honour to present their lordships with the colours which he struck on the

battery, and I beg leave to recommend him particularly to their lordships as a most meritorious officer.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

A Return of the killed and wounded belonging to His Majesty's ship Diamond, in the three attacks of the enemy's batteries and shipping in Herqui, the 17th March, 1796:—killed, two seamen; wounded, First-Lieutenant Horace Pine, Lieutenant Carter of the Marines, and five seamen.

Six days after the following letter was written, Sir Sidney's heavy misfortune of falling into the enemy's hands deprived him of rendering his country any farther service, for at least two years to come.

"Diamond, off Havre de Grace, April 12th, 1796.

"SIR,

"I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the enemy's ships expected to proceed down the channel from this port, and who were actually under weigh at one time for that purpose, are put back, and are, at least the frigates, detained till the next spring tides.

"I enclose an extract from Captain Peyton's journal and a letter from Lieutenant Crispo, stating the circumstances on which this opinion is grounded.

"In consequence of Captain Peyton's report, I stood to the eastward immediately after he rejoined, taking his majesty's ships Diamond, Minerva, and Syren, and leaving the Magicienne and Druid to keep an eye on the Cherbourg ships. I stood into the road of Havre this morning, in hopes to get within the three ships that had chased the Minerva, on their return; daylight, however, discovered them at an anchor in the

inner road; the Banc de la Jambe being between them and us, we could only approach within long range of the outermost ship. On our trying a shot at her, she instantly cut her cable and ran within the other two; these three appear to be large corvettes, of a new construction, said to carry twelve pounders. There are two large frigates (evidently ready for sea) in the basin, two others with their yards and topmasts struck, and topgallant masts down on deck, lying near them: further in is a cluster of armed ships of the size of corvettes, completely ready for sea; there are also a number of luggers and cutters, but lying so close together it is impossible to count them exactly. On the whole I observe a greater degree of readiness in the naval preparations of this port, than at former periods when I have looked into it; and all accounts agree, that they mean to make an effort to clear the coast. Enclosed I transmit intelligence I have received from St. Maloes, which I shall attend to as much as possible, without relinquishing other objects of immediate and equal consequence.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"P.S. I am sorry to confirm the account received from France, of the loss of one of the St. Marcou launches, driven on shore on the coast opposite the islands,' during the late easterly gales, owing to the awkwardness of the crew in not setting their sails to work to windward. None of the gun-boats under my command being able to muster a boat's crew used to coasting service, their crews being composed of *soi-disant* able seamen, and the refuse of the receiving ships."

AN EXTRACT FROM THE LOG OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP DIAMOND.

"Monday, April 18th, 1796.

"We sent the boats, manned and armed, to interrupt a Swedish ship going into Havre. At eight, P. M. the cutter came on board from Sir Sidney for a supply of arms and ammunition; sent them to Sir Sidney, who was going to attack a lugger in the roads. At two, A. M. heard the report of several guns and musquetry in the roads; at six, saw a large lugger and a number of armed boats, gun-boats, &c. come out of Havre pier. Half past six, saw a heavy cannonading from the lugger, gun-boats, &c., but objects we could not see distinctly. At nine, saw two of our boats rowing to the ship. Half past ten, the launch and one cutter came alongside, who reported, that in the morning Sir Sidney, with the boats, had boarded and captured a French lugger, of eight guns; and that in endeavouring to bring her out, the tide drove them into the mouth of the river Seine: that at six, being attacked by a large lugger and four gun-boats, he was obliged to surrender. In launch, weighed, and came to sail."

To this extract from the log, we are enabled to add a most gallant but an unfortunate exploit of Sir Sidney Smith, by which—and which alone—the capture of the lugger was accomplished.

The privateer lugger ——— had been constantly chased by the fastest sailing frigates of the English squadron, but without success: and she had made

repeated captures from our convoys, by very adroitly following them in the night, and boarding as many of them as she could put men into, and then letting the prizes continue with the convoy, so as not to excite the suspicion of the ships of war, until a favourable opportunity occurred for dropping astern at night, or otherwise for edging over to the coast of France. This had succeeded in so many cases, that Sir Sidney Smith determined to capture the privateer, in port, the very first opportunity. An occasion at last presented itself, the lugger being discovered at anchor under a ten-gun battery. The Diamond's boats were accordingly ordered to be manned and armed, and when ready, they were reported to Sir Sidney, who was asked what officer should command them? He answered, the first lieutenant, of course; but was told that he had already been away, and was at that moment so ill, and had taken medicine, that the surgeon thought it quite impossible for him to get out of bed without the most imminent danger. The second lieutenant was absent also; and Sir Sidney then said Mr. * * * *, the third lieutenant. The master answered, — "But sir, although you have not before missed him, it is necessary I should tell you that he was left behind yesterday at Portsmouth." Sir Sidney then told the master, that he would go himself in the boats, being the best swordsman of the two, and that he, the master, was the best pilot, and the most proper person to take care of the Diamond. He then got into his Thames wherry and took command of the boats, being four in number, and proceeded two in each line and the wherry between. Two boats

were ordered to board on one quarter of the lugger, and two on the other, simultaneously; in which order they proceeded and did board altogether at the same moment, and the wherry with Sir Sidney at the same time over the stern. They all got upon the deck at the same instant, and had complete possession of the lugger, driving forthwith all the prisoners down the main hatchway, and securing the hatches by putting guns upon them. Sir Sidney then went down into the cabin, followed by only his faithful servant John Phillips; there he found the officers of the lugger, four in number, who had not yet surrendered, but just awakened from their sleep by the noise upon deck, and were sitting up in their beds, each loading his pistol. He immediately addressed them, saying, "*Vous pouvez être assuré, Messieurs, que je ne suis pas ici sans force suffisante pour vous faire soumettre, et je vous engage fortement de rendre vos armes de suite.*" This they instantly agreed to, and no further opposition was offered.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"Diamond, off Havre de Grace, April 19th, 1796.

"SIR,

Please to communicate to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Sir Sidney Smith, commander of his majesty's ship Diamond, was this morning captured and carried into Havre de Grace; he proceeded from the ship, on the 18th in the evening, with the boats manned and armed towards the pier of Havre, as I suppose to reconnoitre the enemy's strength in that port; I am informed that at two o'clock in the morn-

ing he boarded and captured a French national lugger, carrying eight guns, at the mouth of the harbour, but in attempting to bring her off he was driven up the Seine considerably above the town, the flood-tide then running strong, and there being little or no wind ; in this situation he was discovered at daylight by the enemy, who immediately sent out and attacked him in the prize lugger, with four gun-boats, a large lugger, and a number of smaller vessels, also armed ; the contest continued upwards of two hours, when he was obliged to surrender to the great superior force of the enemy; the launch, with Mr. Goodall, midshipman, and one cutter with the greatest difficulty escaped through a heavy fire of the gun-boats. I have to regret that the situation was such as to render it perfectly impracticable for me to give any assistance with his majesty's ship Diamond, it being nearly calm, and not a sufficient draught of water to carry her so far up the river. Enclosed is a list of the officers and men who were left on board the prize lugger at the commencement of the action. As the service, already ordered by Captain Sir Sidney Smith, may be injured by the absence of the Diamond, I shall therefore proceed in quest of the next senior officer of the squadron for his further orders, which I hope will meet with their lordships' approbation.

"I am, &c.,

"R. H. PEARSON, First Lieut."

"P.S.—Since writing the above I have, through the channel of a fishing-boat, had communication with the commanding officer of Havre, who informs me Sir Sidney Smith, officers, and men, are all well, except

Mr. C. Beecroft, who was wounded in the hand and thigh.

"A list of the officers and men who were on board the prize lugger at the commencement of the action.

Sir William Sidney Smith, K. S., Captain,
Mr. William Knight, Acting Lieutenant,
Mr. T. W. Wright,
Mr. R. L. Coulson,
Mr. Charles Beecroft,
Mr. J. F. Carroll,
Mr. James Boxer,
Mr. Edward Morris,
Mr. William Harvey,
And twenty-four seamen.

(Signed) "R. H. PEARSON, First Lieut."

MINUTE OF THE BOARD.

"Their lordships express their regret at the disaster which has happened to Sir Sidney Smith, and the officers and men who have been captured with him.

"They approve of his intention of joining the senior officer, and acquaint him that Captain Gosselin has been ordered to command the Diamond during Sir Sidney's captivity.

"And the transport board are to take means for the exchange of Sir Sidney Smith immediately, by sending over an officer of the same rank."

The following extract from the *Annual Register* for 1796, was obtained from documents sent to the Admiralty:

"Advice was received at the Admiralty, brought by Lieutenant Crispe, of the Telemachus cutter, of the capture of the enterprising Sir Sidney Smith, commander of his majesty's ship Diamond, on the coast of

France, having, on the 18th instant, boarded and taken a lugger privateer belonging to the enemy, in Havre de Grace harbour, by the boats of his squadron, then on a reconnoitring expedition; and the tide making strong into the harbour, she was driven above the French forts, which, the next morning, the 19th, discovering, at break of day, the lugger in tow by a string of English boats, immediately made the signal of alarm, which collected together several gun-boats and other armed vessels, that attacked the lugger and British boats, when, after an obstinate resistance of two hours, Sir Sidney had the mortification of being obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war, with about sixteen of his people, and three officers with him in the lugger. The Diamond frigate is safe, but could afford her commander no assistance, there not being a breath of wind during the whole of this unfortunate transaction. We are happy to add, that only four British seamen were killed, and one officer and six seamen slightly wounded. The seamen were immediately thrown into prison on their landing, and Sir Sidney underwent a long examination before the French commandant, after which he was ordered to be conveyed under a strong escort to Paris.

"The following were amongst the officers captured with Sir Sidney Smith: Messrs. W. Moory, R. Kenyon, and R. Barrow; one of these was wounded. When the officers on board the Diamond heard of the disaster which had befallen their gallant commander, they sent a flag of truce into Havre, to inquire whether he was wounded, and entreating that he might be treated with kindness. The governor returned for answer, that Sir Sidney was well, and that he should be

treated with the utmost humanity and attention. The French, it appears, warped out another lugger, of superior force, against that captured by Sir Sidney Smith in Havre de Grace harbour, with which they engaged him for a considerable time with so much heavier metal, that rendered all his resistance ineffectual, and therefore compelled him to strike.

LIEUTENANT PEARSON TO LORD SPENCER.

"Diamond, off Beachy Head, 20th April, 1796.

"My Lord,

"I have herewith enclosed you the answer to my letter of yesterday, to the commandant at Havre, by which your lordship will have the satisfaction to hear that Sir Sidney Smith is well; and I am informed by the master of the fishing-boat that he was last night ordered off to Rouen, most likely on his way to Paris; that being the report at Havre. Your lordship will see by my public letter, that I am about to join Captain Peyton, the next senior officer of the squadron, and wait his orders for my further proceedings; knowing by the information Sir S. Smith had received, that some of the frigates, corvettes, &c., now in the pier at Havre, were to sail these spring tides, I thought it most expedient for the good of the service, that the Diamond should not be taken from the squadron at this particular juncture of time, notwithstanding she is very much in want of every species of stores, provisions, and water. Trusting that your lordship will approve of my proceedings,

"I remain with great respect, &c.,

"R. H. Pearson."

"P.S.—Three frigates, three ship corvettes, besides brigs, &c., still are in the pier at Ilavre, with their sails bent, and apparently ready for sea."

[Enclosure.]

"Barre, le 20 Germinal, an de la Republic Française.

"MONSIEUR,

"On vient de me remettre votre lettre de ce jour.

"Mr. Sidney Smith est prisonier de guerre, et traité avec tous les egards dus à son grade. Ses compagnons sont également bien traités, et n'ont reçu aucunes blessures, à l'exception du jeune élève William Beecroft, qui a été blessé à la main et à la cuisse.

"Soyez persuadé, monsieur, que vos frères d'armes trouveront dans la générosité Française tous les soins dus à leur état et à leur situation.

"LA BRETECHE."

"A Monsieur Richard Pearson,
1st Lieutenant sur la frégate Angloise
le Diamond, en mer."

With all the activity displayed by Sir Sidney Smith, and his visit to every part of the coast of France, and to the Channel islands, he was not successful in capturing any of the enemy's vessels, and the reason is obvious enough: the spreading of his numerous cruisers, constantly shewing themselves along the coast and before their ports, deterred the enemy's vessels from coming into the channel; and in consequence of his going in the boats to the pier of Havre, and capturing a lugger at the mouth of the harbour, in attempting to bring her off, she was driven by the strength of the tide above the town, and captured,—together with the gallant commander of the Diamond, as above narrated.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN PEYTON TO THE ADMIRALTY.

"Minerva St. Marcou, 26th April, 1796.

"SIR,

"I have to acquaint you for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, of the arrival of Captain Gosselin, to take the command of the Diamond, and to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd inst., relative to directing the officers commanding the ship and vessels under my command, to send a copy of the *role d'equipage* of the ship or vessel the prisoners may belong to. I am also to inform you, that on the capture of Sir Sidney Smith by the enemy, Lieutenant Pearson acquaints me he had the deck signal-book in his possession, which leaves a possibility of their falling into the hands of the enemy, although from the coolness and presence of mind of that gallant officer, I conceive there cannot be a doubt of his having destroyed them prior to his surrender.

"The tides being over for the ships of war and convoy being enabled to get out of Havre, I have to acquaint you for their lordships' information, of the Syren having made me the signal this morning, of their remaining in the same state as when last reconnoitred.

"I am, sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) "THOMAS PEYTON."

CHAPTER VIII.

1796—1798.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH'S IMPRISONMENT IN THE ABBAYE AND TEMPLE OF PARIS, AND HIS ESCAPE FROM CONFINEMENT IN THE LATTER.

SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH, with his officers and crew, captured in the lugger, were put on shore and sent to the prefect or proper authorities in Havre, to be enrolled and, as they thought, to be treated as prisoners of war. The printed accounts mostly say they were roughly and harshly used, and so they were by the rabble; but nothing of the kind appears, either from the French authorities, or from Sir Sidney himself. He was naturally anxious to be exchanged, and we had abundance of French prisoners of equal rank to admit of it, on the spot, but they declined to accede to such a proposal, intimating that there were circumstances in his case, that made it necessary he should go to Paris. His cruising squadron along the coast had made him sufficiently known, and his authority had not in any case been exercised harshly, or in any way not conformable with the legitimate usages of war; but he found, that his name was familiar to them in an unfavourable point of view, owing to the part he had taken in the destruction of their ships and storehouses in Toulon harbour; and there is every reason to believe that they were fully aware of his being an officer on half-pay on that occasion, and that he

had no commission, therefore, to authorise such an act; but the positive written *order* he had from Lord Hood to burn the fleet and arsenal, and the *order* given to a captain to assist him, were a full justification for what he did. Some hints were also thrown out of a suspicious tendency, connected with the situation so high up the river Seine, near to the town, in a lugger and boats not suited for legitimate purposes, while one of the largest class frigates remained lying off the mouth of the harbour. It was in vain that he pleaded the accident of a dead calm and a strong tide, the one preventing the frigate from getting under weigh, the other forcing the lugger to the spot where he was attacked; and that he would have been but too glad to reach his ship in the Channel.

He saw, however, that Paris was to be his destination, and requested them to send him off forthwith. He took with him his clerk and the royalist emigrant gentleman, who had been on board the Diamond, and who was put down and designated as his servant on the present occasion. Those three persons were driven in a chaise to Paris, and at once placed in close confinement in an old Gothic building. The man driving up at once to a gloomy old entrance, with the most forbidding aspect, Sir Sidney asked the officer who had him in custody, "*Où est ce que vous me menez?*"—He replied, with a drawling out, "*A l'Abbaye, Monsieur.*"—"*Ah!*" observed Sir Sidney, "*c'est fameuse, je crois, dans votre histoire, n'est ce pas?*"—"I was led," says Sir Sidney, "to a gloomy room, round which I cast my eye, and was shortly left alone with a single *gendarme*, whom I thus addressed—'*Nous sommes camarades à*

present, co-prisonniers.' I agreed with this man to get me something to eat, which he did on the return of the gaoler."

It does not appear they were harshly treated in any way, or that they had any complaint to make, except that of a strict confinement. This may be inferred from a letter addressed to his father, of which a duplicate had been sent to his friend Lord Rivers, or, perhaps, originally sent through his lordship who had taken a copy of it, as it was found amongst the late Lord Rivers's papers.

[Copy.]

"Abbaye prison, Paris, April 30th, 1796.

"DEAR FATHER,

"You, who know me, will not wonder when I tell you that I am in better health than usual from having nothing to fatigue me, and in excellent spirits, finding amusement in the novelty of my situation; the whole is like a very interesting play, "the characters, dresses, and scenery entirely new;" but whether tragedy or comedy, I cannot yet pronounce, as we are only at the third act. The first and second, although "not without the clash of arms and din of war," could not be called tragic, while there were so many merry faces on the stage; no lives were lost on either side, which is always a good thing in the round reckoning of humanity. I wish I could say there was no blood shed, but the grapeshot flew too thick for that to be possible. Those you know most of are not among the wounded. Our friends Wright, Boxer, Morris and Carrol are well. The end of the second act, when my

brave fellows collected round me, on the enemy's closing on us, swearing to die fighting by me, was the most affecting and interesting scene I ever saw, of the many which have passed under my eye; the servants behaved admirably, and the boys acted like men. In this disposition were we, when the enemy, far superior in number, prepared to board us, sword in hand, refusing us quarter with insults and imprecations. Our firm posture checked them, and my harangue to their chief relented their fury and turned their resentment into admiration. It was acknowledged that we could not get away, and that further resistance would not avail, but we were determined to die with our arms in our hands, if they would not give us quarter, and this determination saved us. The menacing attitude of our enemy was instantly changed into that of cordial salutation; we met shaking hands, and I have since had every reason to thank the military part of those into whose power we are fallen, for very generous treatment. Separation and confinement is all we have to complain of, but the fortune of war is imperious, and I learn patience every day by the practice. Believe me, under all circumstances, Yours, &c. &c. &c.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"P. S. I have obtained a further latitude, by the indulgence of the government, to write to Mr. Cooke, the navy agent."

This letter, replete with the native good-humour and high spirits of Sir Sidney Smith, contradicts the general statement, that was published, of the rude and insulting treatment which he and his companions

experienced at Havre. On the contrary, his letter speaks of cordial salutation and of shaking of hands; and says, moreover, that since his capture, he "had every reason to thank the military part of those into whose power they had fallen, for very generous treatment."

A second letter, of the 6th May, (six days later) was received from the prison, addressed to the secretary of the admiralty, giving a narrative of his capture, and of the officers and men taken and wounded, which completes the account of his services in the Diamond.

"Abbaye Prison, Paris, May 6th, 1796.

"SIR,

"Although my successor in command will have announced my capture to you, I consider it my duty to acquaint my lords commissioners of the admiralty with the circumstances of that unfortunate event.

"The Vengeur French lugger, having been very daring and very successful in her depredations on our trade, her capture became an object which it was my duty not to neglect, and I accordingly kept an anxious look-out for her. I found her on the 17th of April at anchor in the inner road of Havre de Grace, and her situation being such as afforded a reasonable prospect of bringing her out, I determined to make the attempt. I was obliged to take on myself to command the boats destined to effect this service, detachment and sickness having deprived me of other officers, to whom such an enterprise could have been confided; we boarded her at half past two in the morning, and made prize of her after a short contest; unfortunately the enemy had cut

the cable, on our attack, and the tide had driven the vessel into the river Seine, within Havre pier, before we had the complete possession and management of her; daylight discovered our situation to the enemy on shore, and immediately a large lugger, several gun-boats and small boats full of troops, were detached from the town to cut us off in our return,—there was very little wind; we, however, did our utmost to force our passage through them, making use of the prize's guns with considerable advantage at first. The enemy continued engaging us on the bow and quarter within half musquet shot; we maintained this unequal combat for three quarters of an hour, and I have reason to be highly satisfied with the conduct of the brave officers and men with me, who exerted themselves to the utmost; it was, however, at length evident, that a moment's longer resistance would have been a useless sacrifice of the whole; and I thus found myself under the mortifying necessity of surrendering to the superior force of the assailants.

"Mr. Knight, acting third lieutenant, and Mr. Wright, my secretary, merit my warmest acknowledgments for their spirited conduct. These gentlemen, together with two midshipmen, two young gentlemen volunteers, nineteen seamen, and three servants, were made prisoners with me. Mr. Goodall was of great service in the Diamond's launch during the action, and I was happy to see he appeared likely to extricate himself when it ended to our disadvantage. I am ignorant of our loss, on the whole of those taken with me. Mr. Beecroft, midshipman, and two seamen, were dangerously wounded; our separation renders me igno-

rant whether they have survived. I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"Evan Nepean, Esq., Secretary,
Admiralty, London."

Minute from the admiralty.—

"N. B. Mr. Beecroft and Wm. Gilchrist are recovered; John Bradley dead."

A third letter, of the 26th of April, was addressed from the Abbaye prison, to the secretary of the admiralty, requesting that Patrick Begley, a prisoner under sentence of a court-martial, for desertion, having undergone a part of his punishment, may have the remainder remitted, and be released from confinement; the case having been inquired into, the man was released. These letters prove that correspondence by letter was not prohibited.

Sir Sidney, however, must have confined his opinion of the good conduct and generous treatment solely to the military at Havre; for, at the very time he was in the act of entering the Abbaye, the following extract of official letters from Havre, addressed to the minister of marine and colonies, appeared at Paris, in the "Gazette Nationale, ou Moniteur Universel." We give it in the original.

"Enfin nous tenons Sidney Smith, cet incendiaire Anglais, qui brûla nos vaisseaux à Toulon, le même qui a tenté, il y a quelque tems, de mettre le feu aux batiments et aux magazins du Havre, celui en un mot qui avoit juré et promis à Pitt de ne faire de tous nos ports et de notre marine, qu'un monceau de cendres.

Mouillé dans la nuit sur cette rade avec Le Diamant, qu'il commandoit, il venoit d'amariner La Vengeur, après une cannonade assez vive, et étoit passé dessus, lorsque plusieurs batiments legers expediés, à sa rencontre l'ont attaqué, et obligé de ce rendre, avec plusieurs officiers de la marine Angloise. Son intention de porter ici la flamme n'est pas douteuse, car on a trouvé avec lui un fagot soufré, semblable à celui qui fut découvert il y a quelques mois sous une de nos frégates en construction. Nous vous prévenons que n'ayant pas au Havre un endroit assez dur pour le garder, nous le faisons partir pour Rouen, sur bonne en sûre escorte, en attendant que la justice nationale prononce sur tous les attentats de ce monstre.

"On assure que le Directoire vient de donner des ordres pour le faire amener à Paris comme incendiaire."

The gentlemen composing the Directory, with their amiable and tender-hearted colleagues, Robespierre and Buonaparte, would no doubt be unanimous in voting Sir Sidney a criminal incendiary; the latter of the two in particular, who, as has been seen, put in practice his first lesson of fusillading, at Toulon, and witnessed the burning of the ships and arsenal, by an "incendiary." Thus stigmatized, nothing more was required for the self-justification of such barbarians shutting up Sir Sidney Smith, in prison for two years—and perhaps for life, had he not found the means of escaping from a confinement not only unjust but illegal.

During the confinement of the three prisoners in the Abbaye, Sir Sidney, his clerk, and the emigrant royalist, they were beset by three females who inhabited

the houses that faced the prison windows, and who, by making signs and otherwise, after some instructions from Sir Sidney, learned to converse by means of an alphabetic telegraph, and thus they conveyed to him, that they were laying plans for his escape. Sidney amused himself by their and his own telegraphic communication ; and christened them by the names of the three muses, Thalia, Melpomene, and Clio. Whether something regarding an escape was detected, or whether these females were suspected of holding some communication with the prisoners by means of emissaries, after some little time an order arrived for the removal of the three prisoners to the Temple. Here they appear to have been quiet enough, and most agreeably and comfortably circumstanced, by having gained the confidence of the governor of the Temple, or as we should call him in England, the gaoler. Sir Sidney, in particular, obtained from this officer as much liberty as he could wish for, by merely pledging his honour that he would not abuse it, only naming the place and the hour of his intended return from permitted absence. The name of this most liberal governor was Boniface, his wife was a pretty little woman, and Sir Sidney, who was good looking in those days, was on terms of perfect understanding with her.

The great object of Sir Sidney was to pass off the emigrant as his servant, and a non-combatant, and the first measure was to give him an English sounding name ; he had passed as *John* in the Abbaye ; here in the Temple he was called regularly, John Bromley ; he spoke tolerable English, but with considerable accent, which accent, however, was not discovered by

French hearers; and he used to speak as little as possible in any language when others were present.

After a certain time of imprisonment Sir Sidney obtained from the Directory an order to liberate his servant John Bromley on exchange as a non-combatant; and as it would be unjust to make the servant suffer for his fidelity to his master, John Bromley was accordingly conducted to the frontiers, and allowed to proceed to England. John Bromley was not however lost sight of; at the proper time he returned secretly to France, and resumed his station as servant, and was mainly and principally engaged in combining the means of escape for Sir Sidney. He had not been idle in his absence, or inattentive to his master's concerns. On his return to Paris from Havre, by his connexions in the west with the royalist party, he was enabled to prepare the way for Sir Sidney; stage by stage, from the Temple to Havre, he provided the plan for his escape, which he had in view. He had insured for him safe houses to go to, and thus he might pass from family to family.

Some months glided away after faithful John's return, and the party were as happy as a state of imprisonment could be supposed to make them, with every one around them apparently their friends; and the probability of an escape constantly increasing. In the mean time many respectable ladies had admission to the prisoners, and one in particular most acceptable, Madame Tr——, the amiable wife of John Bromley, the royalist emigrant, and to her was finally owing Sir Sidney's escape; and with him, on its accomplishment, they both proceeded to England. Mr. Tr——, or Brom-

ley, afterwards embarked with Sir Sidney Smith, in the Tigre, and entered the Turkish service, at that time, as Colonel Bromley, where he aided, by his able advice and assistance, the grand Vizier. At the peace of Amiens he returned to France, and got rank in the French army. He was even in the battle of Waterloo, in the French service, and in command of a brigade. He died some few years ago, but has a son living. Such is the short history of honest John. His real name is here suppressed, from knowing that Sir Sidney had always great hesitation or reluctance in naming any of the parties engaged in his escape, fearing that they might one day become objects of persecution.

Mrs. Colonel Bromley (Madame Tr.) soon discovered an able co-adjutor of her husband, in the person of Colonel Phelypeaux, an engineer officer of rank, and a secret royalist, devoutly attached to the fortunes of the exiled family of France, and to those who supported their cause. To this distinguished character, to whom she was not unknown, the amiable lady addressed herself; told him what she and her husband had in contemplation; and the character and unmerited suffering of Sir Sidney being well known to him, he most cordially entered into the projected plan for his liberation. Intelligent, active and daring, cool and insinuating in his manners, Colonel Phelypeaux lost no time in applying himself to bring to maturity a plan which, when discovered to him, met with his entire approbation.

In the mean time our imprisoned hero was on the best possible terms with Mr. Boniface, the gaoler, who had such entire confidence in his word, that he used

constantly to allow him to go abroad on parole for a given time and place, and in this way Sir Sidney used to visit the theatres, and went even to the houses of friends in the neighbourhood of Paris, but he always communicated either to Mr. or Mrs. Boniface where he was to be found. In this respect he may be said perhaps to have exceeded the bounds of prudence, but there was something in his manner that assured Sir Sidney that he was an honest and faithful man; but in such a place as Paris, and even among his fellow-prisoners in the Temple, it could scarcely be said that Sidney's life was by any means secure under the revolutionary government; his name had already become familiar, and his exploit at Toulon was well known; and the following paper, entered in the minute-book of the admiralty, would have been quite enough to put him on his guard, especially when coupled with that already noticed from Havre.

[From Minute Book, Vol. XII.]

"Admiralty Office, May 5th, 1798.

"Denys Messant, French prisoner, taken in La Bonne Citoyenne, 10th of March, 1797, lately confined at Porchester, being in company with a number of French officers at Petersfield, on their way to prison in consequence of the general orders given for reading the paroles, he heard one of them say to others who were near him, 'I shall very soon put an end to all this; we owe our present situation to that fellow, Sir Sidney Smith; I shall find the means of escape, which are not difficult, and when I get to France I will make my way to the Temple, and contrive to see him, under the pre-

tence of having something to deliver from his friends in England; I will then put into his hands a small parcel of tea previously mixed with poison, and that will soon do his business. I have poisoned many, and it is not likely that I should fail with him.' He did not immediately notice the person of the man who made this speech, and being at night in a crowded inn, he could not ascertain it afterwards, and was also afraid to appear to make a particular inquiry.

"This conversation had nearly escaped his memory, when he heard it revived at Porchester-castle, between two persons who were lying in a bed near him; but he was removed next morning to the prison-ship, and had not any opportunity of learning who the persons were that held such discourse; he was only one night at Porchester, and arrived there very wet."

The intention of poisoning Sir Sidney Smith is further corroborated by a letter found amongst the papers of a prisoner who died in the hospital, which clearly alludes to such a plan.

"Si Chause parti dernièrement peu paré, nous ne serons pas longtems à bout partir pour France. La Chause ne peut pas manquer cette fois. Il a emporté avec lui une lettre supposé de la famille de Semithe."

Whether these and other threatened assassinations ever reached Sir Sidney in his confinement does not appear, but the kindness of his keeper, as before stated, allowed him the reception of visitors, and among them women of rank were not refused to Sir Sidney, whose acquaintance was greatly extended both in the prison and abroad.

All this time Sir Sidney remained apparently con-

tent in the Temple, his servant John being now a man at large, and transacting his out-door business. M. Phelypeaux being well known as an engineer among the military in Paris, did not appear as a visitor to the Temple; but Sir Sidney would seem to have had no want of company; and he had great reason to be satisfied with his two friends and the prospects held out for them.

Bromley had remained one year in confinement, and then Sir Sidney Smith wrote to the Directory to beg that the devotion of the servant should not be allowed to be injurious to him. The answer came next day to convey the faithful servant to Calais, and ship him off for England, as has been seen.

This was done—after which Bromley returned privately to his wife in Brittany, and was afterwards the medium of communication between Sir Sidney Smith and his deliverers. Bromley, upon his arrival in England, went to Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Lord Camelford, &c., and pointed out the means by which the escape might be effected. Money was found by government for the purpose; Bromley returned and rejoined his wife, and she communicated with the prisoner in the Temple.

Phelypeaux was the friend of Bromley and employed by him; he was brought up at Brienne with Buonaparte. Had not been an officer nor had Bromley. Sir Sidney Smith, on going with them to Turkey, made one a colonel, and the other a major. Bromley returned to France in 1801, made acquaintance with Marmont, who asked Napoleon to employ him. He, being anxious then to encourage the return of emigrants, agreed, and

made him Lieut.-Colonel. Some time after, Buonaparte being asked by Marmont for promotion for him, he answered, "*Non, c'est trop vîte pour un A. D. C. de Sidney Smith.*

Among the female visitors at the Temple is mentioned Mrs. Cosway, who employed her pencil in taking his miniature portrait, which, though not a favourable likeness, is preserved as a relic, in remembrance of the place where it was taken.

The following verses were addressed to a young lady, with a portrait of Sir Sidney Smith, taken in the prison of the Temple in Paris.

By your request, dear maid, I dare to send
This faint resemblance of my gallant friend;
Sketched in the Temple's gloomy prison walls:
Where (deaf to justice and to honour's calls)
Gallia's fell despots, prompted by their fears,
Held him in bondage, full two ling'ring years;
Elate with hopes to bend his constant heart,
Now to harsh threats, now they resort to art.
Mistaken wretches! Gallant Sidney's soul
Was ne'er one instant under your control:
Your arts and threats could only serve to bind
The ties of honour stronger in his mind.
Your cruelties with scorn he would receive,
Nor could your arts his manly sense deceive:
And to your miscreant threats he e'er replies,
"How can I fear what I so much despise!"
Sole one affront could move his generous tear,
All other insults with contempt he 'd bear,
That Gallia's tyrants should expect to find
One thought congenial to their dastard mind.

P. A.

By a young lady on receiving Sir Sidney Smith's portrait with the foregoing lines:—

What though nor arts nor terrors could control
The dauntless energy of Sidney's soul;

Yet in the mimic semblance is exprest,
The pensive languor of a captive's breast.
Not so he looked when, terrible in war,
His gallant deeds were bruited from afar!
Nor such the aspect that his features bore,
When hail'd with raptures on his native shore!
For, ah! how sweet in liberty to rove,
Amid the greetings of a nation's love!
Thus long ere time has raised those flames that burn,
With dazzling lustre round the hero's urn;
In youth's gay morn he boasts a deathless name,
And lives triumphant in the arms of Fame.

Nov. 4th, 1798. M. V.

The portrait is said to have been taken by stealth, when he was sitting by the bars of his prison, by Mrs. Cosway or some other lady.

Among the multitude of papers that had once been in the possession of some part of Sir Sidney Smith's family, there are two volumes of autograph letters of a young lady who signs herself "*Isabella*,"—young and simple enough she evidently appears to have been. The word *Temple* is written on the covers, and they are addressed to Sir Sidney, but in a warmth and style of expression, which could only be employed by a boarding-school miss of fourteen years of age. That Sir Sidney read and kept them there can be no doubt, but that he neither answered them, nor took any notice of them is equally clear; and it is only surprising that they had not then or since been committed to the flames. Her family, it appears, is highly respectable. She is sister of a duke, is still living, and is the mother of a count also living.*

* I forbear giving their names, as the parties are all living and in the first class of society, and how the papers came to be mingled with the mass I know not, but the fire that consumed so many would have been well employed in destroying these.

Sir Sidney was frequently eye-witness from his window of many of the horrors of the French revolution. He saw the unfortunate victims counted into the carts and waggons to be led to execution by the guillotine, or to be shot upon the Place de Grenelle. One instance of horror passed close under his window: a waggon, into which fifty had been counted, was about to proceed, but the gens-d'armes refused to move until the prisoners' hands were bound, for they apprehended an attempt at rescue in the streets of Paris. They would not be the persons to bind their hands, saying it was not any part of their duty to do so. The gaoler refused also, and satisfied with the receipt for fifty prisoners, his responsibility had ceased. At last the executioner was sent for, that office being hereditary from father to son; a young man appeared, a tall, handsome, pale-looking person, with a triste sorrowful countenance, bespeaking the workings of a feeling mind; but he also refused that office, saying that his duties commenced only at the place of execution. They were finally obliged to get some *commissionaires* who did the work for their thirty sous, as they would have done any other work, and the waggon then proceeded with the unfortunate victims, men, women, and children, who were shot shortly afterwards.

Another scene, witnessed the same day, was that of sixteen victims who had been counted into a cart to be driven to the guillotine. Among the number was a pretty and interesting girl, whom the gaoler took compassion upon, and as they walked in procession of single files to the cart, through a passage, he opened a side door, and told her to go to a well which was close

by; she passed unobserved by the gens-d'armes, and was saved.

One day the gaoler came to Sir Sidney Smith and told him that a new person had been sent to the prison; that he, the gaoler, felt humiliated and degraded at a felon being sent there—one condemned to twenty years *aux gallères*—that he suspected some deep scheme, as it was quite unusual to send any but prisoners "*pour opinion*" to that prison. He wished to put Sir Sidney Smith upon his guard about this new comer:—told him that he, the prisoner, was ordered to correspond with the government, and the gaoler was interdicted to see the correspondence;—this again excited strong suspicion in his mind, and he told Sir Sidney that he had been inquiring particularly about him (Sir Sidney Smith,) &c. This was sufficient to put Sir Sidney upon his guard. He had already been drawn into conversation with this man, who pretended to have the means of escape from the prison, and from local knowledge of the country could also undertake to get to the coast with Sir Sidney Smith in safety;—that he, Sir Sidney, had money at command, and he had a turnkey at his, which would make all secure. Sir Sidney and this man had several conversations upon these proposed arrangements; and when the fellow supposed all was agreed to, and the time for leaving the prison arranged to be at sunset, when all were retiring to bed, Sir Sidney, having been forewarned by his friend the gaoler, went to the window of his room which overlooked the guard-room, and there saw the soldiers actually loading their muskets, with an air of mystery about them. Being now con-

vinced of the intended perfidy, he very quietly went to bed, without saying a syllable to his worthless companion; and the next day he wrote a letter to the minister of interior, desiring to see him personally, having something important to communicate. The minister did not come himself, but sent his aid-de-camp. At first, Sir Sidney refused to convey his information through any indirect channel, but being assured by the aid-de-camp that it would be quite the same thing as addressing the minister in person; and the aid-de-camp being a military officer in uniform, Sir Sidney took confidence and communicated his suspicions of the prisoner beforementioned, and the particular circumstances which had confirmed those suspicions in his mind, receiving the solemn pledge of the aid-de-camp to communicate the whole, word for word, to the minister. The officer expressed himself most shocked and indignant at such baseness, and the next day the convict was removed from that prison and was never more heard of by Sir Sidney.

Another time Captain Sir Sidney Smith was disturbed one day by cries from the gaoler for him to come down stairs, saying to him, "*On vous demande en bas.*" Upon getting to the bottom of the staircase, he found him with two pistols, one in each hand, and addressing him, "*Monsieur, voilà tout ce que je puis vous faire—c'est pour vous defendre la vie.*" Sir Sidney Smith asked an explanation of what he meant.—He answered—"*Voilà la garde en insurrection, et la ville aussi en pleine insurrection,* and that the first object of the insurgents would be to liberate the criminals, and in doing so, he being found there as a state

prisoner, would be the first to fall a victim." Sir Sidney Smith said, "Well then, I must defend also your life," and looking round said, "this is an ancient fortress of the Templars,—there must be a well within the walls, as also without the walls; and we have some bread:—you must take care not to open the door, and we can defend ourselves against all force but that of artillery, which can only come from a constituted authority, to which we must yield." The insurgents approached the door and called out to the gaoler, "*Ouvrez la porte.*" They were answered by the gruff voice of the gaoler, "*Tenez vous le dehors, je repondrai pour l'interieur.*" Sir Sidney Smith heard a voice saying "*Ah, s'il ouvre je repondrai bien pour lui.*"

In this state they remained until the town became tranquil. The conduct of Sir Sidney Smith was reported next day by the gaoler to the Directory, and he was much complimented for it.

The man employed to carry wood and water to the different apartments of the prison used to stop and give an account of the passing events to Sir Sidney Smith. He used to say "*Tenez, ah! ils passeront tous, il n'y a que vous et moi qui restons.*

Two of the directors had also come under the same roof, condemned to *deportation aux colonies* by their three other colleagues.

By the letter of Kearney that follows, it will be seen that Barthelmy and Pichegru were the two directors, and that Kearney and Lavillcheurnois, were taken at the same time to the Temple.

" Paris, August 13th, 1814.

" SIR,

" The unfortunate Lavilleheurnois, royalist commissioner, confined in the Temple in 1797, whom you honoured with your friendship, and who was so worthy of it, had procured me the very great advantage of being known to your excellency, previously to my being sent myself as a prisoner to the Temple, where you then were on the famous 18th Fructidor, at which time Messrs. Barthelmy, then one of the five directors, now count and peer of France, and M. Pichegru, were condemned to be transported to Cayenne, with Lavilleheurnois; I was taken and shut up with them. Long before that period I had been frequently persecuted as a supposed agent of England, and an enemy to the French Revolution. On the 12th of August, 1792, my house was pillaged, and there was carried off property to a great amount belonging to poor English subjects. After your quitting the Temple, I was confined a second time, as supposed to have known of the plan formed to facilitate your quitting .... When Captain Wright returned here, during the short peace of Amiens, I had the honour of seeing him every day, and very luckily discovered a project of arresting him .... I gave him notice of it .... he had just time to escape ....

" At this moment, sir, the English commissaries are on the point of coming over .... were your excellency pleased to give me a letter to them, the signature of such a character as your's, in favour of a fellow-prisoner, whose losses were in part known to you, could not but ensure to me a great share of indulgence from them. Should there be any indiscretion or presumption on

my part, I hope your excellency will excuse one, who is still struggling against the agitation caused by a dreadful shipwreck.

"This letter will be handed to your excellency by General Danican, one of our first-rate characters in the good cause, since the revolution. It was he that commanded the military force of Paris the 13th of Vendemiaire against Buonaparte .... He had gained the day, had it not been for a misunderstanding between the sections ... He was condemned to be shot, but escaped .... He now resides in London .... He is worthy to be known to your excellency .... Should you judge proper, sir, to receive graciously my demand, M. Danican will have your intentions conveyed to me ....

"I am, with the highest consideration, your very humble and obedient servant, "C. KEARNEY."

The telegraph previously alluded to, was begun by Sir Sidney Smith with females unknown to him in the first instance. They had done the same for former prisoners. He asked first, "Where is Revel?* I want money." They answered, "Who are you?" He then told his name. The next day the visiting or inspecting doctor came his rounds, and feeling Sir Sidney Smith's pulse, slipped into his hand a rouleau of gold: this was from Revel, and was afterwards repaid by Lord Keith.

One day, for his amusement, Sir Sidney conceived and wrote down on a window-shutter, or a panel of the room in the Temple which he inhabited, a prophetic inscription, as to the future destiny of Buona-

* Revel was the Sardinian minister to London, who was then in Paris for a short time.

parte, which he lived long enough to see fulfilled, not exactly to the letter, but by a fate much more severe than that predicted, and more humiliating than that which the augur had allotted to him.

" La roue de la fortune fait d'étranges révolutions, il faut l'avouer, aussi pour mériter le nom de révolution faut-il que le tour de roue soit complet. Vous êtes aujourd'hui aussi haut que vous pouvez l'être, eh bien! je ne vous envie pas votre bonheur, parceque j'ai un plus grand bonheur encore, celui d'être aussi bas dans le carrière de l'ambition qu'on peut descendre, de sort que pour peu que cette dame capricieuse tourne encore sa roue, il faut bien que je monte par la même raison que vous descendrez.

"Je ne vous fais pas cette remarque pour vous choquer, mais pour vous apporter la même consolation, que j'éprouve, quand vous serez arrivé au même point où je suis; oui, au point même où je suis: vous habiterez cette même prison, pourquoi pas aussi bien que moi? Je n'y ai pas pensé plus que vous n'y pensez actuellement, avant d'y être enfermé. Dans une guerre de parti, c'est une crime aux yeux de ses opposants de bien faire son devoir, vous les faites aujourd'hui, et par conséquent vous aigrissez vos ennemis contre vous; vous me repondrez; 'Je ne crains point leur haine conjurée. La voix du peuple est pour moi declarée, je le sens bien.'

" C'est parler comme il faut. Dormez en paix, vous apprendrez bientôt, ce que l'on gagne à servir un tel maître, avant six mois si ce n'est aujourd'hui, ... de tout le bien que vous faites pour lui. 'Quiconque a mis,' dit un auteur antique, Pausanias, 'son seul

espoir dans l'amitié publique, vit rarement sans trouble, sans chagrin ; et a jamais fait une heureuse fin.'

"Au reste, je n'ai pas besoin de vous prouver que vous viendrez ici, puisqu'il faut bien que vous y soyez déjà pour lire ces lignes. Vous aurez, je le présume aussi, cet appartement, parceque le concièrge est un honnête homme, et il vous donnera sans doute le meilleur comme il a fait pour moi."

Which may be thus translated :—

"Fortune's wheel makes strange revolutions, it must be confessed; but for the term revolution to be applicable, the turn of the wheel should be complete. You are to-day as high as you can be. Very well. I envy not your good fortune, for mine is better still. I am as low in the career of ambition as a man can well descend ; so that, let this capricious dame, fortune, turn her wheel ever so little, I must necessarily mount, for the same reason that you must descend.

"I make not this remark to cause you any uneasiness, but rather to bring to you that consolation which I shall feel when you are arrived at the same point where I now am—yes ! at the same point where I now am. You will inhabit this same prison—why not as well as I ? I no more thought of such a thing, than you do at present, before I was actually shut up in it. In a war of party, it is a crime in the eyes of opponents for a man to do his duty well : you do your's well just now, and consequently by so doing you irritate your enemies against you ; you will answer me—

"'I fear not their combined hatred—the voice of the people is declared in my favour—I serve them well !'—

"This is all very fine talking!—Sleep in peace—you will very soon learn the gain that is to be got by serving such a master, whose inconstancy will, perhaps, punish you for all the good you may have done for him, if not immediately, before six months have passed over. 'Whoever has placed,' says an ancient author, Pausanias, 'his sole hope on public friendship, rarely passes his life without trouble and annoyance, and seldom comes to a happy end.'

"In short, I need not prove to you, that you will come to this place, because you must come here to be able to read these lines. I presume also you will inhabit this apartment, because it is the best, and because the keeper of it, (Lasne) is a civil man and will do for you the best he can, as he does for me."

These lines very soon found their way into the Paris papers, and from thence into Syria, when Sir Sidney Smith was driving Buonaparte out of Cairo, and there they were shewn to him; but as *nil admirari* was his motto, when anything of a disagreeable nature occurred, he only said, with cool indifference, "it is very extraordinary!" Not so, when he came to Paris after his flight from Egypt, and found them in circulation there; it is said, he then gave an order to demolish the Temple, which was forthwith carried into execution. Perhaps to demolish the room would have answered the purpose of gratifying his wrath, but as the lines had travelled in print as far as Cairo, he might have made himself quite indifferent to their further progress. The French original was long preserved and regarded with respect by the keepers of the prison, till it is said

to have been removed by the Duke de Rohan, when a prisoner in Sir Sidney's chamber, which the placard circulated in Paris states to have been the same room in which Louis XVI, passed a night; and from which it is said, on that occasion, the panel or shutter, where the lines were written, was carried away by the Prince de Leon to be preserved in his family: if so, Rohan probably carried away a copy only of the lines.

Another instance is on record of the fulfilment of Sir Sidney's prophecy. Travelling with a brother officer, they took shelter from the rain in a lonely inn, where Sidney on a sudden became wrapt up in meditation, and remained for some time silent, which being very unusual, his friend tapping him on the shoulder said, "What scheme, Sidney, are you now projecting; or what, all at once, makes you so melancholy?"— "My good friend," replied Sidney, brightening up at once, "I had got into the regions of fancy, and was carried away on the wings of imagination; and why, or wherefore, I cannot account for it, but I felt a sort of conviction that, before a dozen years shall have rolled over my head, I shall have carried the British arms triumphant into the Holy Land." Some trifling event on his first journey to Constantinople, may have raised this idea in his mind, which probably never recurred till events were in train for the accomplisment of the prediction. But to return to the prison.

Many different plans had been suggested for Sir Sidney's escape, but none of them appeared to be feasible, without incurring the greatest hazard of being defeated, in which case all future attempts would be hopeless. Two years of confinement had nearly expired, when Sir

Sidney decided in his own mind that the time was come, when something of a decisive character should be undertaken. He had friends, as has been shewn, in whose fidelity and ability he had the highest confidence. M. de Phelypeaux, his old servant Bromley, and a young man well known to him, and his lady, who went under the name of L'Oiseau. As secrecy was to be observed, and M. de Phelypeaux and M. de —— were familiarly known at the Temple, two other gentlemen, friends of theirs, and men of high courage, accepted the office with pleasure and alacrity.

"At this time," says Sir Sidney, "a proposal was made to me for my escape, which I adopted as my last resource.* The plan was, to have forged orders, drawn up for my removal to another prison, and then to carry me off. The order being accurately imitated, and the real stamp of the minister's signature procured, by means of a bribe, nothing remained but to find men bold enough to put the plan in execution. With this order the two gentlemen came to the Temple, Mr. B— in the dress of an adjutant, and Mr. L— as a military

* The story of Sir Sidney's imprisonment in the Temple, and of his escape from thence, has been told more than once, and, his intimate friends say, though generally true, circumstantially incorrect; the one here given as to the mode of his escape, is taken from the Naval Chronicle, considered by the Sidney family (and for the best of reasons) as most correct. A pamphlet of a few pages taken from this, I consider to be the one intended for adoption by Sir Sidney, for the following reasons:—First, because in that pamphlet he has merely changed the third personal pronoun into the first; secondly, because he has added corrections and explanations in the margin in his own hand writing; and, lastly, because the pamphlet was put up among the papers which he has called "Materials for Memoirs of my Life." Besides it is well known that the long paper of the "Imprisonment" in the Naval Chronicle, is the production of Mr. Spencer Smith, as most of the others are in that periodical.

officer. The keeper having perused the order and closely examined the minister's signature, sent for the register or greffier, "and," says Sir Sidney, "I was ordered to be called." When he informed me of the orders of the Directory, "I pretended to be very much concerned at it, but the adjutant assured me, in the most serious manner, that the government were very far from intending to aggravate my misfortunes, and that I should be very comfortable at the place whither he was ordered to conduct me."

"The register then observed that six men, at the least, from the guard must accompany me; and the adjutant, without being confused, acquiesced in the justice of the remark, and gave orders for them to be called out; but, on reflection, he addressed me, saying, 'Commodore, you are an officer, I am an officer also; your parole will be enough. Give me that, and I have no need of an escort.' 'Sir,' I replied, 'if that is sufficient, I swear on the faith of an officer to accompany you wherever you choose to conduct me.'" [Here Sir Sidney's marginal note is—"which I might well do, as he was going to conduct me to those, who would conduct me to the coast, to embark for England."]

"The keeper now asked for a discharge; the register gave the book, and M. B— boldly signed it with a flourish,—*L. Oger, Adjutant-General.* Meanwhile I employed the turnkeys, and loaded them with favours, to prevent them from having time to reflect; the register and keeper accompanied us as far as the second court, and at length the last gate was opened, and we left them after a long interchange of ceremony and politeness."

When the pretended officer of the guard came in to receive his prisoner, the poor little lady, Madame Boniface, who was not in the secret, became greatly alarmed, and was only quieted by Sir Sidney making her a sign that all was right.

When the day of Sidney's escape was fixed, at eight in the morning the turnkey entered with his hat on, which he had never been in the habit of keeping on his head. He appeared much embarrassed and affected, and said, "*Monsieur, on vous demande en bas.*" Sir Sidney Smith was reading his Spanish edition of Gil Blas, and, looking up, said, "*Mais qu'est que c'est donc.*" The turnkey said, "*On vous dira cela en bas.*"

The poor man had a fearful misgiving about the fate of his prisoner, as few of those ordered to be transferred had been again heard of. He asked him where he was to be transferred to. The turnkey replied, "To Fontainbleau;" and then Sir Sidney Smith said, "Oh, that is not far! You will come and see me there won't you? and my things, books, &c., you can send after me; there is no occasion to take them with me to-night." The turnkey promised to go and see him, and to have his things safely conveyed to his new prison.

"The frame of mind in which I was," says Sidney, "when I started from the Temple prison, strongly impressed with the conviction of the time being come, for the plan of French operations being put into execution, and the consequent necessity of its counteraction, may perhaps be evinced by the lines I left pencilled on the inside of my prison door."

"Qui a peur du mal
A déjà le mal de la peur!
Qui espère le bien,
A déjà le bien de l'esperance."

Sir Sidney Smith descended; and a *fiacre*, taken from the nearest stand, was at the door. Phelypeaux was inside, and Tr—— on the box; and the different parties who had their parts to act were also in attendance. Sir Sidney Smith stepped in and they drove off. At a very short distance from the Temple the coach ran up against some person, which made a confusion. Phelypeaux touched Sir Sidney Smith to get out, which he did, and mixed with the crowd. He conducted him to the house of ———, one of the Clermont Tonnerre family, which had been previously arranged. Pasquier, the late president of the Chamber of Peers, was there playing whist. He remained there for the night.

After leaving the prison Sir Sidney Smith had only to follow the directions of Phelypeaux, who had the entire management of the escape to the coast.

They left the above house next day. It was arranged that two travellers should arrive from Nanterre, and the return horses were to take them the first stage. On turning out of the court-yard the pole of the carriage was broken, which made some delay, of which Phelypeaux and Sir Sidney Smith profited, by getting out, and going on foot outside the barrier. The carriage when stopped at the barrier was looked at by the police, who, finding it empty, and the postboys of Nanterre, believed it to be a return carriage, and let it pass on.

Having separated from their two active and disguised friends, Sidney reached Rouen with only M. Phelypeaux and his secretary; and here they were obliged to stay several days for their passports. Being here joined by his friend Captain Wright, and having one day occasion to pass the barrier, where there were sentinels on duty, Sir Sidney gave an instance of his extraordinary presence of mind and *sang froid* in the moment of danger, rather perhaps than a proof of his discretion. They were both without passports, and the difficulty was to pass those sentinels without being examined or questioned. Sir Sidney, who was well accustomed to the usages at the barriers, arranged that Wright should go first, and, if stopped by the sentinel, that Sidney should advance, and put a bold face upon the thing, and try what a little assumption of authority on his part would do. Wright accordingly walked on, and on being asked for his passport, Sir Sidney advanced and said, with an air of authority, "*Je reponds pour le citoyen, je le connois.*" The sentinel, quite satisfied, said, "*C'est bien, citoyen;*" and they proceeded on their way.

"At length," says Sir Sidney, "every thing being ready for us to cross the Channel, we quitted Rouen, and without encountering any further dangers, I arrived in London, together with my secretary and my friend, M. Phelypeaux, who could not prevail on himself to leave us."

This latter part shews some suspicion of the printed narrative being the production of Sir Sidney Smith.

Sir Sidney Smith and Colonel Phelypeaux *en poste*, approaching Honfleur, and first opening a view of the

mouth of the Seine and Havre, the postillion turning round, called out to Phelypeaux, "*Ah! voilà, citoyen, où nous avons pris l'Amiral Smith,*" and then with an arch look added, "*mais nous le tenons à présent.*" Phelypeaux looked at Sir Sidney Smith and cautioned him not to smile or move.

At Honfleur, where he was concealed in a fisherman's hut, waiting for the tide, Sir Sidney heard one of the men say, "*je connois celui là, c'est l'Amiral Schmit.*" This alarmed Sir Sidney Smith very much, and he could not feel certain that he might not be betrayed. The whole way afterwards to the boat, he kept a watchful look out lest he should be seized, and had the full intention to make a vigorous struggle with whoever might attempt it. He embarked in the boat, passed a line of gun-boats at anchor, and in breathless anxiety, felt that, if betrayed, the plan would be to put him on board one of them in the passage. They hailed, and being answered *pecheur, N°.* — was told to proceed. This was the last risk they had to encounter; they steered for the direction of the squadron, and found themselves in the midst of them in the morning.

One of the crew, whilst standing out to sea, recognized Sir Sidney Smith, he having been often on board the Diamond, and had received from him rum and biscuit; he said to him "*Mons. l'Amiral c'est inutile de vous cacher de nous, nous vous connoissons bien, nous avons été souvent abord votre frégate le Diamant. et vous nous avez toujours bien traité, vous m'avez souvent donné une verre d'eau de vie et encore des biscuits, et nous avons toujours tenus compte de ces bons offices.*

The dangers they had to encounter from Rouen might not have been very great, either by sea or land, though his old friends at Havre were not much to be trusted. Here, however, in a small creek, it seems they picked up a boat, which, by good fortune, had oars in it, and in which our adventurers at once jumped, and put to sea. In this little skiff they tugged and rowed for some time, when the Argo-frigate, commanded by Captain Bowen, hove in sight, to which they threw out the best signals they could contrive, and were taken up. "I picked them up," says Captain Bowen, "in a small fishing boat off Havre, and safely landed them at Portsmouth." From whence, of course, they did not delay to set off for town, and to report themselves to the admiralty.

Sir Sidney Smith was captured on the 18th of April, 1796, and arrived in London on the 8th of May, 1798.

The first visit made by Sir Sidney was of course to Lord Spencer at the admiralty, who took him to the king, and he was received by his majesty in the most gracious manner; and it is needless to say, that he continued to be considered and treated as the lion of the day, until it became as much or more irksome to him, than had been his long imprisonment in the Temple at Paris. We shall, however, very soon see him in full and active employ on a service of the highest importance, and for the due performance of which, and the complete success with which it was crowned, it is, perhaps, not too much to say, there was not a second naval officer on the list, possessed of equal qualifications for the undertaking of a service of so peculiar a nature.

There are many circumstances, connected with the cruel and unjust treatment of Sir Sidney Smith, equally contrary to the custom of every civilized nation, as to established military law, and which would lead one to infer that the French Directory were composed of a body of men, like their colleague Robespierre, free from the compunctious visitings of nature, and void of every feeling of humanity; there were, however, among them a few, not yet quite dead to the impulse of shame. They hated but they feared England, and were ready to inflict the deepest injuries on any English subject, with or without cause; at least a very slight, or even pretended cause, was sufficient for their purpose; and such was the case with regard to Sir Sidney Smith. He was incarcerated on false charges, brought against him by a notorious set of vagabonds, who infested the sea-port town of Havre; and these false charges were sufficient for the Directory to assign him over to the Abbaye prison, and thence to the Temple; but Paris had yet within it a number of excellent right-minded people, uncontaminated by the crimes and iniquities of the Jacobinical revolutionists, and who had learned the character and the misfortunes of Sir Sidney, and the injustice under which he was suffering; of this the Directory was not ignorant, as the following case will shew; respecting which, his Majesty George III. took occasion to give a lecture, through his secretary of state, to this body of revolutionists.

Captain Bergeret, who commanded the Virginie frigate, was captured by Sir Edward Pellew, in the Indefatigable, and sent to England as a prisoner of war in the beginning of May, 1796, not many days after

the capture of Sir Sidney Smith, in the river Seine, close to Havre. Captain Bergeret was very improperly permitted to return to France on his parole, in order to effect an exchange for Sir Sidney Smith. The application to the transport board, to effect this, was sent to the admiralty by that board, who returned the following answer :—

"15th June, 1796.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Having laid before the lords commissioners of the admiralty, your letter of the 13th instant, enclosing copies of two letters you had received from Monsieur Chavalir, and of one therein enclosed from M. Bergeret, late captain of the Virginie French frigate, whom you permitted the beginning of last month to return to France on his parole, in exchange for Sir Sidney Smith, I am commanded by their lordships to acquaint you that the said letter has been transmitted to Mr. Secretary Dundas, to be laid before the king for his majesty's information."

"Transport Board."

The application was of course sent to the secretary of state, to be laid before the king, in consequence of which the enclosed extract of a letter from the Duke of Portland was transmitted to the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

"23rd June, 1796.

"MY LORDS,

"In the absence of Mr. Secretary Dundas, I have received your lordships' letter of the 14th instant,

which I took the earliest opportunity of laying before the king, together with its several enclosures, relative to the proposed exchange of Captain Sir Sidney Smith for Mr. Bergeret, of the French frigate La Virginie.

" His majesty has observed with surprise and concern, that the expectation, on which Mr. Bergeret had proceeded to France, of effecting his own exchange by procuring the return to this country of Captain Sidney Smith, has been disappointed. That officer must, however, be sensible that whatever personal inconvenience he may experience, in consequence of the determination of the French Directory to detain Sir Sidney Smith, can only be imputable to a mode of proceeding, on their part, so little corresponding with the attention which, during the present war, has been uniformly shewn in this country to their wishes on many occasions of a similar nature. It is impossible for his majesty's ministers to admit, or for the French Directory to establish, any justifiable grounds of distinction between the case of Sir Sidney Smith and that of any other officer captured in his majesty's service. The British government would justly be considered as negligent of its own dignity, and deficient in the protection it owes to this gallant officer, if it could allow any intimation of a supposed difference in this respect to pass unnoticed, or accede to any proposal which might be construed either into a virtual acknowledgment of such a difference, or into a disregard of the public trust, by sacrificing the interest and honour of the nation, to the wish of restoring an individual to the rights and advantages of which he cannot be deprived without a violation of justice, and of the laws of nations. Should the usage

in this respect, generally prevailing between civilized powers, be disregarded in the treatment of Sir Sidney Smith, from an expectation, on the part of France, of thereby compelling this country to submit to a proposal which would otherwise be refused, that expectation will certainly be disappointed. Without consenting to a measure so injurious to the interests of his kingdom, and of dangerous tendency as a precedent, his majesty has other ample means of enforcing his anxious desire of procuring (should they, contrary to all expectations, be refused), the same protection and privileges to Sir Sidney Smith, as to other British officers captured in his service.

"His majesty, however, has still a proper confidence, that the motives of justice and humanity, which direct his conduct on this occasion, will also have a due weight with the French Directory, and that instead of exposing both parties to fresh and unnecessary evils, by adopting any rigorous proceedings, or rejecting any just representation, they will feel no less anxious than himself to diminish and alleviate, as much as possible, the numerous calamities inseparable from a state of war.

"Governed by the considerations I have now stated, his majesty does not think himself at liberty to consult his own inclination, and Captain Bergeret's wish, in allowing him to be exchanged for any other officer than Captain Sir Sidney Smith, or to remain in France upon his parole. (Signed) PORTLAND."

"To the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty."

It might have been supposed that the reasoning of his majesty, and his determination that an officer of

France shall not be benefited, so long as an officer of England of the same rank and under the same circumstances shall remain under illegal punishment, inflicted by the government of France; it might, we say, have been a case that would shame the Directory into a mode of proceeding which would have relieved both officers, consistently with the established law of nations. What became of Bergeret does not appear, but Sir Sidney was left to relieve himself, which, as has been stated, he contrived to do, after an imprisonment of two years.

The Directory, it may perhaps be assumed, found itself wrong, were ashamed to avow it, and left the case to rectify itself. Indeed the whole conduct of the keeper of the gaol, in giving his prisoner not only the means of escaping, but encouraging him to avail himself of those means; the knowledge of all the gaolers and the turnkeys of the constant opportunities afforded to Sir Sidney to make his escape, if inclined to do so, would almost sanction the opinion, that it could not have been any disappointment to the ruling powers if the prisoner would avail himself of the opportunity to slip through their hands; and this conjecture receives a further probability, from the circumstance that, when he did escape, in open day, through open gates, and in the midst of a multitude of spectators—that he was detained by the breaking down of his carriage, and in proceeding along a great public road from Paris to the sea coast, was further detained several days in the large city of Rouen, and travelled in open day down to Havre, where he had been captured, abused, and committed. When such indiffer-

ence or slackness is shewn in a country swarming with population, among which there is no scarcity of watchers and warders, is it not strange that no attempts were made, no hand-bills issued, no reward offered, in short not a single step taken to get possession of the fugitive ? What other conclusion then can be drawn than this—that the Directory found they had a bad case, were ashamed of its proceedings, and not sorry to get rid of their prisoner quietly, without any active interference of their own:

CHAPTER IX.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND OF THE TIGRE, AND ALSO AS PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE OTTOMAN COURT AT CONSTANTINOPLE.—MISTAKE RESPECTING THE CIVIL APPOINTMENT, AND THE EMBARRASSMENT CAUSED TO LORD ST. VINCENT, LORD NELSON, AND SIR SIDNEY SMITH CLEARED UP.

1798—1799.

THE kind reception that Sir Sidney Smith met with from the king, his ministers, and the public at large, on his arrival in London, after an unusual, unsanctioned, and inhuman imprisonment of two years, in a criminal gaol of France, was enhanced by the marked confidence he received from Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and indeed the whole of the cabinet ministers, who at once decided to bring into action the fertile resources of his mind, accompanied by personal exertions, when free from restraint, rarely if ever equalled. At this time, a fitting occasion had fortunately occurred for the immediate exercise of his superior talents. The Directory of revolutionary France had been, and were still, making vast efforts to subdue the whole of the Ottoman empire, to take possession of Egypt for ulterior objects, and had already appointed their "child and champion of Jacobinism," Buonaparte, the general-in-chief of that vast eastern fleet and army, prepared for the purpose.

It was deemed, therefore, of the greatest importance to attach the Sultan Selim, his pashas, and their numerous but irregular forces, to the cause of England; as the preponderance of France, if once established in Egypt, would not be long in extending its power and influence to the banks of the Indus. On the evening of the 19th of May, 1798, this immense French armament sailed from Toulon, having on board General Buonaparte and a numerous suite of officers for his staff. That the ulterior object of this expedition was to disturb us in our Indian empire, there could be no doubt; but they failed totally almost in the outset. Driven out of Egypt, they found employment for their army and for themselves in Europe, which took away all encouragement for directing any further attention towards India. What they meant to have tried, on the Egyptian expedition, we are told by General Count Montholon, who designates himself "the emperor's companion in exile, and testamentary executor;" in the work he has published, which he calls "The History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena," (and in this history we find "the motives of the expedition to Syria," and the "siege of St Jean d'Acre.") The general candidly tells us that "the triumphal object of the expedition of the French was the overthrow of the power of England;" but by some mistake or another, the very reverse of that object happened. The army that was to change the destinies of India was, he tells us, to set out from its head-quarters intended to be established at Cairo on the Nile. "The conquest of Egypt," he says, "will bring in its train the loss of all the English settlements in America, and on the peninsula of the Ganges;" nay

more—"Let France be once mistress of the ports of Italy, of Corfu, Malta, and Alexandria, and the Mediterranean would become a French lake." Perhaps the accuracy of Montholon may be tested by a single paragraph he gives on the battle of Waterloo,—a word that speaks wormwood to a Frenchman's ear.

"Had it not been for the arrival of the first and second Prussian corps, the victory would have been ours; and 120,000 English and Prussians would have been beaten by 60,000 Frenchmen."

Two years before the period now spoken of, Lord Grenville, with the view of strengthening our alliance with the Ottoman empire, had sent Sir Sidney Smith, as related in a foregoing chapter, on a secret mission to Constantinople, where his brother, Mr. Spencer Smith, was already stationed as envoy from the British government; and that, on his return, he afforded, in the report he made to Lord Grenville, every satisfaction, may be inferred from the kind and friendly treatment he then received at his lordship's hands, and subsequently during the remainder of his life.

On the present occasion, therefore, Sir Sidney was sent for by Lord Spencer, then first lord of the admiralty, and made acquainted with what was intended by the cabinet; that he would be appointed to the command of the Tigre, an eighty gun-ship—a name, be it observed, neither French nor English. *Le Tigre* was captured by Lord Bridport off L'Orient, 23rd June, 1795, and, if the name was to be changed, it should naturally have been to that of Tiger. He was told she would be brought forward immediately, and be em-

ployed on a special service, of which he would have due notice. On the 1st of October, the Tigre (so registered) was ready at Spithead, and on the 21st of October, 1798, Sir Sidney received the following order:—

"To put to sea without a moment's loss of time in the ship you command, and proceed with all possible despatch off Cadiz, and putting yourself under the command of the Earl of St. Vincent, admiral of the Blue and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean and along the coast of Portugal, follow his lordship's order for your further proceedings.

"In case the said admiral should not be off Cadiz when you arrive there, you are to go on to Gibraltar, and, putting yourself under his command, follow his orders, as above desired.

"Given, &c., and signed,

"SPENCER,
"W. YOUNG,
"J. WALLACE."

"Sir Wm. S. Smith, Captain of the Tigre."

He next received, from the proper office of government, a commission, appointing him joint minister plenipotentiary with his brother Mr. Spencer Smith, at the court of the Ottoman emperor, Constantinople; and this commission was separate and distinct from any orders of the board of admiralty. It is necessary to mention this, as a great mistake, and much angry feeling, were very unnecessarily occasioned, in consequence of this second order, in addition to that already received, emanating from a different branch of the ser-

vice, and wholly unconnected with it. Yet it so happened that the angry feeling was unaccountably excited in the breast of the very first flag-officer in the British navy; and conveyed by him to the second in command, an officer universally allowed to be the most amiable and adorned, the most gallant and brave, "the hero of a hundred fights;" to repeat the names of St. Vincent and Nelson can hardly be necessary. Sir Sidney was the third person to suffer not a little embarrassment and mortification, but all came right at last; all were reconciled, and the public service did not suffer.

Sir Sidney did not fall in with Lord St. Vincent at Cadiz, he having left that port for Gibraltar; to which place, therefore, he proceeded, and placed himself under the command of Lord St. Vincent, agreeably with his orders. His lordship might, of course, have disposed of him in any way he thought fit; but he took a different line, and did not dispose of him at all. He wrote to Lord Spencer a letter, of which the following is a copy:—

TO EARL SPENCER.

"April 13th, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I certainly did conceive it to have been your lordship's intention, that Sir Sidney Smith should act independent of any other officer in the Mediterranean, except myself, and that he was only put under my orders *pro formâ*; and I clearly understood from his conversation, that the great object of joining him in the commission with his brother, Mr. Spencer Smith, was to give him place over the Turkish and Russian sea-

officers serving in the Levant; and he expected, under the rank and precedence arising out of this commission, to command the combined fleets; and I so stated it to Lord Nelson, as the best apology I could make for permitting a captain of Sir Sidney's standing to pass through his lordship's district, without putting himself under his command. * * * *
As the business is now settled in a manner, which seems to meet your approbation, I shall not trouble your lordship with a recital of what happened here, and which I never should have hinted at, but for the communications of Sir Sidney in alarming Lord Nelson, and the meritorious captains serving under his orders. "I have the honour, &c.

"ST. VINCENT."

That an old and experienced commander-in-chief like Lord St. Vincent should talk of officers being put under his orders, *pro formâ*, is the more surprising, as such an order would have constituted a new feature in a naval command; and it is not unlikely, if he had been passed over, and the Tigre and her commander had been put under the orders of the second in command, Lord St. Vincent would have felt himself much aggrieved; and as to his permitting a captain to pass through Lord Nelson's district, without putting such captain under his lordship's command, why did he not, as commander-in-chief, order Sir Sidney to follow the commands of Lord Nelson. Sir Sidney tried to find Lord Nelson at Malta, and also at Syracuse, and wrote to him expressing his regret at missing him, and that he was on his way to Constantinople, acquainting him

precisely with the position in which he stood. Then, as to alarming Lord Nelson, it is much more likely that the letter which the noble earl wrote to his lordship would be more calculated to produce that effect, and to create that alarm.

LORD ST. VINCENT TO LORD NELSON.

"April 28th, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

* * * * "I am not well, and have great cause of dissatisfaction from higher quarters. *He* (that is Sir Sidney) has no authority whatever to wear a distinguishing pendant, unless you authorize him, for *I* certainly shall not. Your lordship will, therefore, exercise your discretion on the subject, and every other within the limits of your command.

"I have sent a copy of the orders you judged it expedient to give Sir Sidney Smith, (which I highly approve) to Lord Spencer, with my remarks; for I foresee both you and I shall be drawn into a *tracasserie* about this gentleman, who, having the ear of ministers, and telling his story better than we can, will be more attended to, &c."

This letter, it must be admitted, both in style and matter, appears a little unworthy a commander-in-chief, and more especially of one so distinguished as the Earl of St. Vincent. If it be true that Sir Sidney could tell his own story better than the two renowned flag-officers, his lordship would seem to allow, that he must have a better story to tell; and it could only have been

a slip of the pen, slightingly to talk *about this gentleman*, a brother officer, though not yet arrived at his flag.

That Lord Nelson's feelings were greatly disturbed, the letter to Lord St. Vincent but too painfully evinces.

LORD NELSON TO LORD ST. VINCENT.

"December 31st, 1798.

"My dear Lord,

"*I do feel, for I am a man*, that it is impossible for me to serve in these seas, with the squadron under a junior officer—could I have thought it! and from Earl Spencer! Never, never was I so astonished as your letter made me. The Swedish knight, writes Sir William Hamilton, says that he shall go to Egypt, and take Captain Hood and his squadron under his command. The knight forgets the respect due to his superior officer: he has no orders from you to take my ships away from my command; but it is all of a piece. Is it to be borne? Pray grant me your permission to retire; and I hope the Vanguard will be allowed to convey me and my friends, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, to England. God bless you.

"Your most affectionate friend,

"Nelson."

It is impossible not to feel painfully grieved to read such a letter from this great and amiable man; but he had been misled, and his feelings had apparently completely overwhelmed his judgment. On the 1st of January, 1799, his lordship says, in a letter to Lord Spencer, "Captain Trowbridge goes directly to Egypt,

to deliver up to Sir Sidney Smith the blockade of Alexandria, and the defence of the Ottoman empire by sea; for I should hope that Sir Sidney Smith will not take any ship from under my command without my orders."

February 1st, 1799.—To Lord St. Vincent he says, "My health is indeed very indifferent, but whilst I live, if the queen desire it, I remain for her security. No consideration of my own health shall make me abandon my honourable post in which you have placed me."

January 31st, 1799.—To Captain Ball he writes,—"The Earl St. Vincent has ordered Sir Sidney to put himself immediately under my command, which I suppose the great Plenipo will not like; however, he has brought this upon himself." That he did like it, and would have done it himself the moment he could have found him, will be seen ere long. If Lord St. Vincent had done this, when Sir Sidney arrived at Gibraltar, he would have spared all uneasy feelings to Lord Nelson.

March 6th, 1799.—He tells Lord Spencer that the ministerial parts of a letter, from Sir Sidney to him, are, no doubt, very proper; "but, indeed, my dear lord, those parts which, as captain of a man-of-war to an admiral commanding the squadron in the Levant, are not so respectful, as the rules of our service demand from the different ranks in it. No man admires Sir Sidney's gallantry and zeal more than myself; but he should recollect how I must feel in seeing him placed in the situation which I thought naturally would fall to me." And he adds—"You may be assured I shall support Sir Sidney to the utmost of my power."

April 30th.—He says to Lord St. Vincent, "As to Lord Spencer, my mind is made up, to do by Sir Sidney Smith what is handsome, right, and proper; and whilst you do me the honour, in giving me the command of the detached squadron, *I will be* commander of it, and suffer no, not the smallest, interference of any captain, however great his interest may be."

March 7th.—In a joint letter to the two plenipotentiaries Lord Nelson says, "I have this day received letters from Sir Sidney Smith, in his ministerial capacity, I believe. I wish that all ministerial letters should be written in your joint names; for it may be difficult for me to distinguish the captain of the man-of-war from the joint minister, and the propriety of language in one might be very proper to what it is in the other." And he writes a letter to Sir Sidney to the same effect, of which the following is an extract: "Your situation, as joint minister at the Porte, makes it absolutely necessary that I should know who writes to me; therefore I must direct you, whenever you have ministerial affairs to communicate, that it is done jointly with your respectable brother, and not to mix naval business with the other; for what may be very proper language for a representative of majesty, may be very subversive of that discipline of respect from the different ranks in our service. A representative may dictate to an admiral, a captain of a man-of-war would be censured for the same thing; therefore you will see the propriety of my steering clear between the two situations."

Nothing can be more proper or better expressed

than this letter of the amiable and gallant hero of the Nile; and from this time, all the troubles of that most worthy and excellent admiral ceased, which had been occasioned partly by the indiscretion of the ever active Sidney, and not diminished by the correspondence of the Earl St. Vincent, who received from Lord Spencer the strongest assurances, that all which had happened was entirely through mistake, or some very great misunderstanding, "and that it was never meant by the admiralty, that Sir Sidney Smith should consider himself in any respect a commander-in-chief, or that he should be authorised to take a single gun-boat even, from under your command without your orders." Yet Lord Spencer did not escape censure, little as he was deserving of it, and the circumstance is here noticed as it affords the opportunity of saying a word in praise of that amiable nobleman and excellent public servant, and at the same time of shewing how correct and anxious he was to stand well with such brave and illustrious officers, as St. Vincent and Nelson.

Captain Brenton in his life of Lord St. Vincent, by endeavouring to explain the unpleasant feeling that took place in the minds of the two gallant commanders in the Mediterranean, lays the whole blame on the Earl Spencer, and thus decides the question :— "The fact is clear and plain. Sir Sidney *was* intended to have an independent command, by the first lord of the admiralty, who did not understand, or who overlooked, the exact *punctilio* of our naval service."— Again, "The fact is plain and simple, and, from their own shewing, Lord Spencer was in error."

Lord Spencer's high character should have spared

him from this unfounded criticism. His Lordship had served seven years with unblemished reputation, as first lord of the admiralty, four of which had passed at the date of the commission being made out for Sir Sidney Smith to the command of the Tigre. At that time his Lordship had for his advisers, Lord Hugh Seymour, Admirals William Young and James Gambier, and, moreover, Sir Philip Stevens,—the very Nestor of the board of admiralty. Then mark the successful issue of Lord Spencer's naval administration; during which were captured or destroyed—the French fleet in 1794, by Lord Howe;—the French fleet, 1796, by Lord Bridport;—the Spanish fleet by the Earl St. Vincent in 1797. In the same year the Dutch fleet, by Lord Duncan—the French fleet by Lord Nelson, 1798,—and Buonaparte defeated and obliged to run away from Acre, by the skill and courage of the very man, about whom all the bad and unpleasant feeling had been engendered.

So desirous was Lord Spencer to explain to Lord St. Vincent the reason and the nature of Sir Sidney's appointment, that before the Tigre was ready to receive him on board, he wrote to the earl a private letter in which he describes to him, in a general view, the state of affairs in the Mediterranean, and particularly the favourable and vigorous declarations and disposition of the Ottoman Porte. He tells him that, "of this state of things, it appears to his majesty's ministers most urgent to take advantage; and with reference to former habits of acquaintance, which a residence at Constantinople had given to Sir Sidney, as well as to his near connexion with our minister there,

it has been judged expedient to send out Sir Sidney Smith, who will very shortly wait upon his lordship to put himself under his orders, and will communicate to him the instructions of which he is the bearer." His lordship goes on to say—"I am well aware that there may, perhaps, be some prejudices, derived from certain circumstances which have attended this officer's career through life, but from a long acquaintance with him personally, I think I can venture to assure your lordship, that, added to his unquestioned character for courage and enterprise, he has a great many good points about him, which those who are less acquainted with him, may not sufficiently be apprized of; and I have no doubt that you will find him a very useful instrument, to be employed on any hazardous or difficult service, and that he will be perfectly under your guidance, as he ought to be." And he concludes by observing, that, "should the arrangements in the Levant tend to there being only one or two ships of two decks on that station, it may be advisable, from the local and personal acquaintance Sir Sidney is possessed of with the Turkish officers, that he should be the senior officer; but he has been given to understand, that if a large force should be thought necessary, his standing on the list will not admit of it, there being so many captains of distinguished merit who are his seniors."

This instruction, so clear and explicit, was carried out by Sir Sidney, with a further one conferring on him diplomatic rank, which was only decided on just previous to his sailing, but which also he carried out with him.

Earl Spencer writes to Lord Nelson in March, 1799;

and, in allusion to the grievance occasioned by Lord St. Vincent's communication with the noble earl, he says—"On the subject of Sir Sidney Smith, there must certainly have been some very great misunderstanding, as it never was our intention here that he should consider himself a commander-in-chief, or that he should be authorised to take a single gun-boat even from under your command, without your orders. He was sent to serve in the Mediterranean fleet, and, of course, under your command as well as that of every other officer senior to him under Lord St. Vincent; but from the circumstance of his connexion with the king's minister at the Ottoman Porte, and his own acquaintance with several of the principal persons at Constantinople, it was judged advisable, by government, to join his name with the full powers, which had been granted to his brother, to conclude a treaty with that court; and Lord St. Vincent was accordingly directed to send him up in the first instance to Constantinople, as the very uncertain state of the continent, at the time he received his orders for sailing, made it not improbable that he might arrive there before the courier overland. He was, however, most especially and pointedly told by me, before his departure, that he would most probably find senior officers to him in the Levant." And he thus concludes his letter:—

"I am much concerned to perceive that you so often allude to your health being in a bad state. I am aware that you must have undergone very great fatigues and anxieties, but I trust that the brilliant successes which have hitherto attended, and with the

approbation of divine Providence, will, I hope, ever continue to attend, your exertions in the service of your king and country, will make you ample amends for all your labours; and the reflexion of the great advantages derived by the public from your presence in the Mediterranean, will induce you (unless it should be absolutely necessary for you to return) to postpone the idea of it till matters are in a state a little more settled."

By this letter and by a long and able communication from Sir Sidney Smith, Nelson was now himself again; the same kind-hearted man, overflowing with benevolence, always ready to reward merit and to relieve distress. He writes to Sir Sidney, when that brave officer was making progress towards the expulsion of the enemy from Acre, and tells him, "I earnestly trust that your exertions will be crowned with success, and that Buonaparte is gone to the devil." And he adds—"Yesterday brought us letters from your worthy brother; and we had great pleasure in hearing that your truly meritorious and wonderful exertions were in a fair train for the extirpation of that horde of thieves, who went to Egypt with that arch-thief Buonaparte,"—for whom he always entertained a most cordial hatred.

The following letter from Lord Nelson to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, H. M. ship Tigre, will shew how perfectly satisfied the gallant admiral had become:—

"Palermo, August 20th, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have received, with the truest satisfaction, all your very interesting letters, to July the 16th. The immense fatigue you have had in defending Acre against such a chosen army of French villains, headed by that arch-villain, Buonaparte, has never been exceeded, and the bravery shewn by you and your brave companions is such, as to merit every encomium which all the civilized world can bestow. As an individual, and as an admiral, will you accept of my feeble tribute of praise and admiration, and make them acceptable to all those under your command.

"I have returned the Cameleon, that your first-lieutenant might have a good sloop, which I hope Lord Keith will approve; and in every thing, in my junior situation in the fleet, you may be assured of my readiness to do what you can wish me. . . . . Be assured, my dear Sir Sidney, of my perfect esteem and regard, and do not let any one persuade you to the contrary. But my character is, that I will not suffer the smallest tittle of my command to be taken from me; but with pleasure I give way to my friends, among whom I beg you will allow me to consider you, and that I am, with the truest esteem and affection, your faithful, humble servant, NELSON."

Had his lordship received the following letter of Sir Sidney Smith, dated off Malta, so early as December, 1798, he might have been disposed to think better of Sir Sidney than he had been induced to do, and have spared his own too sensitive mind much anxiety.

[Autograph.]

TO ADMIRAL LORD NELSON, K. B.

"Tigre, off Malta, 11th December, 1798, 26th day from Plymouth, and four spent off Gibraltar.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that, in pursuance of orders from the commander-in-chief (a copy of which is here enclosed), I proceeded in his Majesty's ship under my command towards Syracuse, leaving the Strombolo bomb by verbal order from the admiral to follow, with the Dorothea and convoy, destined for Minorca. I am ignorant whether the destination of the bomb was changed.

"Meeting with Captain Ball, off this island, and learning from him that your lordship was not at Syracuse, nor expected there, I have put *everything* destined for you and the ships under your command, on board the Alexander, except the sails for the Goliah and Audacious, which are delivered on board those ships, and I shall immediately proceed with all possible dispatch (having Captain Ball's consent) to Constantinople, there to fulfil the objects of my mission as his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Porte, jointly with my brother, at present resident there in that capacity.

"Your lordship will no doubt see the policy of annexing diplomatic rank to the naval officer destined to co-operate with the commanders of our allies, whose high military rank would otherwise give them pretentions to exercise a supreme command, which we could never admit, and the disputing of which point, without

some other ground, might occasion altercation and a diminution of that harmony which ought to subsist.

"Your lordship will, I hope, likewise see that the selection of a captain, of the year 1783 only, to fill this important post, has been dictated by a delicacy due to my brother, who has already brought the affairs in question to a favourable issue, rather than to any undue preference of me to older and better officers, who have had the honourable advantage of distinguishing themselves under your orders, but who could not be so acceptable to my brother as his near relation. It shall be my study to shew your lordship, and all other officers superior to me, whom I may chance to meet in service, by a ready obedience to their orders, that this arrangement will not affect the subordination necessary in the service, which I have it as much at heart to preserve, as any officer in it. Although my instructions from Lord Grenville do not go to the communication of them to your lordship, I should have felt myself authorised to have made it in the most unreserved manner, had I had the good fortune to have joined your lordship's flag on this station, thereby to have insured that good understanding so necessary to the success of our exertions for his majesty's service. As it is, there are some points so essential for you to know, as the basis of my operations (for which I am directed to look for your lordship furnishing me the means) that I have thought it right to send extracts of as much as I can venture to transmit out of cypher. The want of a means of corresponding in cypher having been felt by Lord St. Vincent, he directed me to establish one with him, and to communicate the same to your lordship, in order for you to be enabled to cor-

respond with both him and me, as occasion may require. A particular explanation accompanies the book sent herewith. Your lordship will please to observe that I have furnished Captain Ball with this cypher, as his intermediate situation may render it of consequence that he should have it.

"I cannot conclude without offering my share of the tribute of admiration and gratitude, which is so readily and so liberally paid to your lordship, and to your gallant companions in arms at the Nile, by all ranks of your countrymen. The news arrived before I quitted London on my return to Portsmouth, and I was witness to the enthusiasm which animated all descriptions of persons in your praise. The mode of the attack, the time, the evident consequences of the glorious event which you are now occupied in securing, rushed into the mind of every thinking man, and made him exclaim '*Well, this is the most perfect naval victory that ever was gained by any country in any age.*' I had the particular gratification of reading those parts of your despatches not intended for publication, which enabled me to appreciate the whole affair in its full extent, and which could not but increase the respect and esteem with which I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

By the next letter, it will be seen that Sir Sidney did not lose a moment, on his arrival at Constantinople, in letting Lord Nelson know the exact nature of his appointment, and that the Ottoman treaty had been signed, also what preparations had been, and were to be, made for carrying it into execution.

[Autograph.]

TO ADMIRAL LORD NELSON, K.B.

Tigre, Constantinople, Jan. 24, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I did myself the honour of acquainting you, by my letter of the 11th of December, of my having been sent to this country, with the appointment of minister plenipotentiary, conjointly with my brother, Mr. Spencer Smith, in addition to my naval rank, his majesty having judged it expedient for his service, that the officer who was destined to co-operate with the naval forces of this country should unite the two characters in his person, the better to preserve that good understanding which should subsist between allies. Our treaty of alliance was signed on the 5th instant, in the execution of which it is necessary that we should contribute our utmost endeavours towards restoring Egypt to the dominion of the Porte. You, my lord, have done much, very much towards it, even before we had incurred the positive obligation; but much is expected of us still, considering the infant state of their marine, and their absolute inability to equip any considerable naval force before the spring, when the grand expedition against Egypt is to sail from hence. They trust entirely to us for the complete blockade of Alexandria, and for co-operation with Djezzar Pasha, in *his attack*, in the mean time. Now it depends upon you, my lord, to say what means you can afford me to do this effectually, so as to preserve the advantages you have achieved for the cause. I was told by the commander-in-chief at Gibraltar, that I should find a cer-

tain force devoted to this service. He asked me whether I was acquainted with Captain Hood, meaning to do me the favour to let me have such officers with me as I had confidence in. I answered that he could not have named any one I should be more happy to serve with. His lordship will of course have suggested this measure to you, leaving the disposition of course to your decision, considering the necessity of discretion being vested in an officer detached in such a command as your lordship's. I mention this, therefore, in the hope that if Captain Hood should have quitted the station to rejoin you, he may be sent back to meet me off Alexandria, whither I am going as soon as I have put the feeble means of this arsenal (which is placed at my disposal by the Sultan) in train to follow me. Two bombs and seven more gun-boats are all the vessels it can produce for a coast service. I have caused five more of the latter to be laid down to-day, ready for the reception of guns that I expect from England, in his majesty's ship Charon, Captain Lord Camelford. Captain Hallowell, with whom I have had the satisfaction of serving in the West Indies, last war, has, I am informed, drawn every advantage possible out of the ten Turkish gun-boats stationed at Aboukir. I hope he will remain on this station to shew us the way by his gallant example. I trust at any rate to find some force on that coast, and I look with anxious hope to your supporting a branch of the service, which cannot fail to interest your mind, although you are now employed nearer the source from whence the mischief, which inundates Europe, flows, and consequently, much more to the purpose of its annihilation, than if you were at any more

distant branch. Still, however, that branch must not be allowed to become a second source itself, which, considering the means of seduction successfully employed by Buonaparte, among the Copts and Jews, if not the Arabs, may be the case, if he is left in the tranquil enjoyment of his conquest. My brother desires to be considered as joining with me in most cordial expressions of regard and respect, although he does not write to make a useless repetition. I have the honour to be, &c., W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The next letter is a private one to Lord St. Vincent, who, ere the time he could receive it, would have resigned the Mediterranean command to Admiral Lord Keith. Lord St. Vincent, it would seem from Sir Sidney's letter to him, was made of somewhat sterner stuff than Lord Nelson. It would appear, from that letter of Sir Sidney, that he had been officially reprimanded nearly six months before he knew of it; but the reply to it is humble and respectful enough.

[Autograph. Private.]

TO ADMIRAL, THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K. B.

Tigre, 2nd June, 1799.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I am more grieved than I can express that I should inadvertently have done anything to occasion so severe a reprimand, as that contained in your official letter of the 16th of January. In vain do I think in my mind what it can be, unconscious as I am of ever having had a thought, or a wish, but to appear correct in the eyes of my immediate commanding-officer, and

having made it my study to do that which you would approve. I hope your lordship will set me right in future, rather in the form of a friendly and fatherly admonition, than with the severity I at present experience at your hands; a favour I should not feel authorised to solicit if I did not consider myself as, in some degree, inheriting your lordship's private friendship for my family, at least for my uncle, who has ever considered himself to stand in that relation towards you, and who taught me to aspire to the same favour. I flatter myself, indeed, from your lordship's kindness at Gibraltar, that I had been considered by you in that light, and I trust I have done nothing since to forfeit your lordship's good opinion; if I have, tell me what, my dear lord, and I am ready to stand corrected. Believe me ever, my dear lord, your devoted, humble servant, W. SIDNEY SMITH."

In justice, however, to Sir Sidney Smith, as well as to Lord Nelson, a previous *private* letter of the former to the latter must be inserted. It is dated from Jaffa, 31st May, 1799, and gives a full explanation of his position, and repeats his deep regret of his not having been able to fall in with his lordship, on his way up, to pay his respects, and have the opportunity of cultivating more intimately his personal acquaintance. It is a production of great talent, and calculated to make a favourable impression on the mind of the noble lord. Having thus brought matters to a favourable conclusion, and cleared up the *tracasserie* which disturbed Lord St. Vincent, the stage is now clear to proceed with the "Life and Correspondence of Sir Sid-

ney Smith," of which these volumes profess to give an authentic and faithful account, and which could not have been accomplished, without first clearing away the disagreeable mistake that occurred on the outset of the voyage to Syria. This chapter, therefore, will conclude with the Jaffa letter of the 31st May; and the next will contain the operations that led to the raising of the siege of St. Jean d'Acre.

[Autograph. Private.]

TO ADMIRAL LORD NELSON, K.B.

Tigre, off Jaffa, 31st May, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

"In addition to my official letters, allow me to address your lordship this private one, as the best mode of discussion where both sides mean to pursue a good understanding, assuring your lordship at the same time, that whatever may be the *form* of my correspondence, it is perfectly impossible that I can fail, intentionally, in shewing that respect I feel, in common with every Englishman, for Lord Nelson of the Nile, heightened as it is by the advantage of a personal acquaintance, which I have ever regretted the want of opportunity to cultivate more intimately. I regretted more particularly that I missed paying my respects to your lordship in my way up, because, the unreserved communication I could then have made to you of the instructions I was going to act under, would have precluded the possibility of any misunderstanding arising. Not finding your lordship at Syracuse, and being under orders from the commander-in-chief to proceed to Constantinople

and execute those instructions, I could not deviate from my direct course, and I have not been able to make use of the cypher which I sent your lordship, on the suggestion of Lord St. Vincent, the receipt of it not being acknowledged. I was thus obliged to confine myself to the bare notification of what had been agreed on, by the respective plenipotentiaries, in a form which I meant and conceived to be perfectly respectful, carefully confining myself to a mere notification to avoid the appearance of dictation, as improper from me to your lordship. But allow me to say here, my lord, on the subject of the naval force to be destined for the Levant seas, that no latitude could be left for the judgment of any of his majesty's servants in other quarters, after a positive stipulation had been entered into, that the British naval force, in these seas, should always be proportionate to that of the enemy. Having been officially and repeatedly pressed by the Porte, to name something precise for the opening of the campaign, which should be binding on us, and at the same time authorise a similar requisition to Russia, I stuck to the tenor of the treaty, and the letter of my secret instructions, in naming two line-of-battle ships and three frigates as our contingent: and it must be borne in mind, that one principal ground of the earnestness with which the Porte required foreign aid, such as it could count upon, was the state of rebellion in which the distant Pashas were, particularly the one with whom I was destined to act, and the insubordination of the fleet and army, which required not only a foreign force that could shew example, but one that could command respect and enforce obedience, should it be

necessary; a reason which could neither appear in the treaty otherwise than in the form of guaranteeing the *integrity* of the Ottoman empire, nor be manifested otherwise in military councils than by placing the force, destined to act against the common enemy, at the disposal of his Britannic majesty's minister plenipotentiary in the field, as a person of a superior rank to any public officer of the empire, uninvested with a similar character, and not inferior to any even of that rank.

"This was the motive for such a commission being given to the officer sent to preserve the advantages your lordship's exertions had gained, while you were more essentially employed elsewhere, in saving another empire from destruction; and I have already stated to your lordship, that the reason of my being the person chosen to execute this service was not so much a mark of favour to me, as a mark of attention to, and confidence in, my brother; as the annexing any other name in the commission of full powers, would have been a sort of supersedure, at a critical point of a business which the cabinet ministers felt him best qualified to bring to a satisfactory conclusion, as in fact he did—Lord Elgin's appointment as ambassador extraordinary, *for the ratification*, nearly coeval with mine, and officially notified as early as the 18th of December, not making any difference in his diplomatic rank. The military part of the debate in the divan became naturally my province, and as to the informality of the second signature being wanting, in my ministerial correspondence with your lordship, it was reckoned less essential, since one signature would have been sufficient for the treaty; and it was thought the greatest mark

of deference that could be shewn, the not annexing the name of an unprofessional man to a letter on naval business, the only sort of business that either of us could have occasion to correspond with a naval officer upon; consequently your lordship desiring me 'not to mix naval matter with others' in such correspondence, is, in fact, imposing silence on me, which, had I observed it in the first instance, would have made me an accessory to a breach of faith on the part of Great Britain,—certain points being stipulated by treaty, which she is bound to abide by for eight years. The tenth article of the treaty further stipulates, that '*the high contracting parties shall concert the plan of operations,*' &c., *and in execution of that article, the respective plenipotentiaries met repeatedly after the signature of the treaty.* Now, my lord, with every deference to the judgment of the admiral, commanding the squadron detached from the commander-in-chief, allow me to say that an appeal to that judgment, at such a distance, would have been acknowledging that the full powers, given by the king of Great Britain to his ministers, were not full powers equal to those given by the Ottoman emperor to his, and consequently our conferences must have been broken up, to the prejudice of our interests as well as those of our allies; since the equipment of the Ottoman force depended on the result of our deliberations, which, according to the forms of the Porte, waited the sultan's approbation to be affixed to the minutes of the conference as a *fiat.* Now, my lord, if this result were sent to your lordship *direct,* without going by the circuitous route of the secretary of state's office in London, it was meant both as a tri-

bute due to your lordship's character, and considered as the best mode of securing that prompt execution, which would leave the odium of any deficiency in our force, when we came to act, entirely on the other party, so as to preclude the possibility of an imputation of breach of faith with our new ally falling on us. Your lordship has taken the communication in another light. I am very sorry for it, and at the same time ready to apologise for any impropriety of expression in my letter, written under much pressure of business, on short notice of the departure of the Neapolitan courier, and perhaps less carefully worded, from a confidence that (as we both meant the same thing) you would weigh the *matter* rather than the *words*.

"Had I received your lordship's orders not to interfere with the Turkish admirals, previous to the date of the order I gave Hassan Bey, I certainly should have abstained from any such exertion of the authority vested in me by the Porte, without your concurrence; but your lordship's public spirit is such, that I have no doubt you will be glad I did not receive them earlier, when you learn that nothing but a positive order brought him to Acre, in contradiction to the firman which ordered him to Alexandria; and nothing but his arrival, and the authority I could assume, not only over him, but over that obstinate, inconsistent, cruel being Djezzar, by introducing a European mode of defence in spite of them, saved the place, and consequently Syria. I pretend to no other merit in the transaction. Indeed, according to some, my quitting my ship to act on shore, leaving her in peril, and exposing myself, as 'tis called, to the danger of being

taken, may even require justification; but the honourable wound you bear the mark of, my dear lord, precludes the necessity of that with you. I have now to inform your lordship, that, in consequence of the plan concerted, according to the tenth article of the treaty, I have not only the Turkish fleet, commanded by the vice-admiral of the empire, but the Turkish army, put under my orders, not as captain of the Tigre, of course, but as the king of Great Britain's minister, and member of the council which decided the armament. The fleet wait my orders to move, hesitating whether it may be necessary, if the siege of Acre is raised, and the vice-admiral is hampered by the orders of a backward seraskier, commander of the army, from which my signature can alone relieve him, if annexed to a positive order; but which cannot relieve him from responsibility, if the form adopted is only that of friendly admonition and advice, leaving him at liberty to exercise his discretion. I shall not, of course, deviate from the very confined line your lordship has traced me, as captain of the Tigre, commanding the blockade of Alexandria; but, as experience has proved the utility of my quitting that blockade, while I was ignorant of being so confined, I trust your lordship will see the necessity of setting me at liberty to act as was concerted at Constantinople, with that discretionary power which circumstances on the spot can alone dictate and decide, otherwise this armament will not only be abortive, but recoil on the capital, necessitous and insubordinate. Be assured, my lord, I have no wish but yours, and that I am your very devoted friend and humble servant, "W. Sidney Smith."

CHAPTER X.

ARRIVES AT CONSTANTINOPLE.—PROCEEDS TO ST. JEAN D'ACRE.— CAPTURES THE ENEMY'S FLOTILLA OF GUN-VESSELS, ETC.—THE SIEGE COMMENCES, AND CONTINUES WITH LITTLE OR NO INTERMISSION FOR SIXTY DAYS. —GREAT SKILL AND ENERGY DISPLAYED ON BOTH SIDES.—SIR SIDNEY SMITH, WITH HIS RUDE AND UNDISCIPLINED OTTOMANS AND THE SEAMEN AND MARINES OF THREE SHIPS OF WAR, AGAINST GENERAL BUONAPARTE AND A REGULAR FRENCH ARMY.— THE LATTER BEATEN, AND COMPELLED TO RAISE THE SIEGE.

1798—1799.

Before Sir Sidney Smith commenced his naval operations on the coasts of Syria and Egypt, it was necessary he should first call at Alexandria in his way to Constantinople, and from the former place he wrote the letter (p. 270) to his mother. His first object at Constantinople was to present his credentials to the Sublime Porte, and to arrange some plan to be pursued with regard to his diplomatic duties, in concert with his brother the joint plenipotentiary, Mr. Spencer Smith, together with the grand vizier and the principal officers of the Ottoman Porte, in order to settle and clearly to understand the terms of the treaty, to be signed and executed between the two contracting parties, the King of Great Britain and the Sultan Selim.

At this time the French revolutionary army, under the command of General Buonaparte, had already subjugated the greater part of Egypt, massacred thousands of the inhabitants, and committed every species of

atrocity. Achmet Pasha, better known as Djezzar, (or the butcher,) was the governor or independent chief of that part of Syria which lies between St. Jean d'Acre (his principal residence) and Damietta, and contains the towns of Jaffa and El Arish, on the sea-coast. This chief being present at the conference, declared, that no time was to be lost, as he had received certain information that Buonaparte, at the head of an army of 12 or 13,000 men, was on his march to attack his principal fortress, St. Jean d'Acre. In fact, it appeared that he had the impertinence or audacity to write to Djezzar,—"The provinces of Gaza, Ramlah, and Jaffa, are in my power. I have treated with generosity those of your troops who placed themselves at my discretion. I have been severe towards those who have violated the rights of war. I shall march in a few days against Acre."

This heartless man, named a general, but without a spark of a soldier's feeling about him, had, not many weeks before, stormed Jaffa, and put the garrison to the sword; and so eager was he to get rid of the incumbrance of the inhabitants who had submitted, to the number of 3,700, according to General Berthier, and 3,800, by Sir Robert Wilson's account, that the ruthless commander got rid of them too. We are told by Buonaparte's own commissary Miot, who was on the spot, that the Jaffa prisoners were marched into the midst of a vast square, formed by the French troops, into which the silent column of victims were driven in fearful confusion, foreseeing their fate; but that "they shed no tears; they uttered no cries; some who were wounded and could not march so fast as the rest, were

bayonetted on the way." The others were halted near a pool of stagnant and dirty water, divided into small bodies, marched to different parts, and there fusilladed. He adds, "Our soldiers had exhausted their cartridges, and it was necessary to destroy those prisoners remaining, with the bayonet and the sword."

The barbarous conduct of the French, however, towards unfortunate prisoners of war, had pretty much its equal among the Ottoman powers. The moment of Sidney's arrival in Constantinople, a letter from some French prisoners of war, confined in the cellars of the bagnio, and in irons, was put into his hands, and his reply was as follows:

TO THE FRENCH PRISONERS.

"British palace, Pera, Constantinople,
31st December, 1798.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Your letter of the day before yesterday was delivered to me this morning on board the Tigre, and I lose no time on coming on shore in affording you at least the consolation of a speedy answer, knowing, from a long and melancholy experience, how much suspense is painful in your unfortunate position.

"I did not wait until you addressed yourselves directly to me to interest myself in your fate, my brother and colleague having, the very instant of my arrival, laid your papers before me, in my quality of commander of his Britannic Majesty's forces in these seas; and I have employed my first moments in the attentive examination thereof. It is more easy to discover defects of proof than to find therein correct and established rights—the

sacred rights of prisoner of war. That title will always be respected by me: the bad example of your government not having the smallest influence with me; and I do not hesitate to point out to you the means of supplying the defects which I find.

"Let each of you furnish me with a declaration in due form, of what may regard himself individually, signed under his word of honour; and moreover, for the satisfaction of others, who may be less inclined to rely thereon, I desire that each of you will give a note of the names of those whom he knows positively to be in the same case. I shall then possess the best evidence that you can produce, and I hope to present it to those on whom your fate depends, in a point of view that may influence them in your favour—at least I shall do all that is in my power: and it is saying everything when I assure you, I suffer every hour that military men remain in confinement and *in irons*.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Sir Sidney obtained their release, and placed them on board a coasting vessel to convey them to the French quarter to which they belonged; and such was the gratitude of some of their countrymen residing at Constantinople, that they promulgated a report, that the vessel had been selected, because she had the *plague* on board—a most notorious falsehood.

So desirous was Sir Sidney to arrive at the field of action, on hearing the horrid report of French atrocities committed in this part of Syria, that he forthwith set out, and arrived at St. Jean d'Acre, to which the arch-enemy intended to lay siege, and, doubtless, to

repeat the enormities of Jaffa. But the information conveyed in the following letter of Sir Sidney Smith of the 23rd of March to the Earl St. Vincent, will shew that the first attempt of Buonaparte was a failure.

The letter states Sir Sidney's satisfaction in having arrived at St. Jean d'Acre, two days before Buonaparte made his appearance. That the enemy's advanced guard was discovered at the foot of Mount Carmel by the Tigre's guard-boats, which, by their grape-shot, sent them precipitately up the Mount. They had musketry only; their cannon therefore was expected by sea, and a flotilla was soon discovered from the Tigre, consisting of a corvette and nine sail of gun-vessels; our guns soon reached them, and seven struck; the corvette, containing Buonaparte's *private* property, and two small vessels escaped, and it was the first object to secure the prizes, without chasing further, their cargoes consisting of the battering train of artillery, ammunition, platforms, &c. "destined for the siege of Acre, and much wanted for its defence." The boats were accordingly anchored off the town, manned from the ships, and immediately employed in harassing the enemy's posts, impeding his approaches, and covering the ships' boats. They have been constantly occupied, he says, in these services for these five days and nights past; and such has been the zeal of their crews, that they have requested not to be relieved after many hours of excessive labour at their guns and oars.

The same letter states, that, "in the interval of his detention at Constantinople, much had been done at Acre under the direction of Captain Miller of the Theseus, and Colonel Phelypeaux, towards putting the

place in a better state of defence to resist the attack of a European army; and the British naval force endeavoured to encourage, and decide the pasha and his troops, to make vigorous resistance."

But it is desirable that Sir Sidney should tell his own story, which none can do so well, and his letters, therefore, will generally be given *in extenso*.

TO THE EARL ST. VINCENT.

"Tigre, off St. John d'Acre, 23rd March, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform you that in consequence of intelligence from Djezzar Pacha, governor of Syria, of the incursion of General Buonaparte's army into that province and his approach to its capital, Acre, I hastened with a portion of the naval force under my orders to its relief, and had the satisfaction to arrive there two days before the enemy made his appearance.

"Much was done in this interval under the direction of Captain Miller of the Theseus, and Colonel Phelypeaux, towards putting the place in a better state of defence to resist the attack of a European army, and the presence of a British naval force appeared to encourage and decide the pasha and his troops to make a vigorous resistance.

"The enemy's advanced guard was discovered at the foot of Mount Carmel, in the night of the 17th, by the Tigre's guard boats; these troops not expecting to find a naval force of any description in Syria, took up their ground close to the water side and were consequently exposed to the fire of grape shot from the boats, which put them to the rout the instant it opened

upon them, and obliged them to retire precipitately up the side of the Mount. The main body of the army finding the road between the sea and Mount Carmel thus exposed, came in by that of Nazareth, and invested the town of Acre to the east, but not without being much harassed by the Samaritan Arabs, who are even more inimical to the French than the Egyptians, and better armed. As the enemy returned our fire by musketry only, it was evident they had not brought cannon with them, which were therefore to be expected by sea, and measures were taken accordingly for intercepting them. The Theseus was already detached off Jaffa (Joppa), the enemy's flotilla, which came in from sea, fell in with and captured the Torride, and was coming round Mount Carmel when it was discovered from the Tigre, consisting of a corvette and nine sail of gun vessels; on seeing us they hauled off. The alacrity of the ship's company in making sail after them was highly praiseworthy, our guns soon reached them and seven as per list enclosed struck. The corvette containing Buonaparte's *private* property and two small vessels escaped, since it became an object to secure the prizes without chasing further, their cargoes consisting of the battering train of artillery, ammunition, platforms, &c., destined for the siege of Acre, being much wanted for its defence. The prizes were accordingly anchored off the town, manned from the ships, and immediately employed in harassing the enemy's posts, impeding his approaches, and covering the ships' boats sent further in shore to cut off his supplies of provisions conveyed coastwise. They have been constantly occupied in these services for these five

days and nights past, and such has been the zeal of their crews, that they have requested not to be relieved after many hours' excessive labour at their guns and oars. I am sorry to say that we have met with some loss as per enclosed list, which, however, is balanced by greater on the part of the enemy, by the encouragement given to the Turkish troops from our example, and by the time that is gained for the arrival of a sufficient force to render Buonaparte's whole project abortive. I have had reason to be perfectly satisfied with the gallantry and perseverance of Lieutenants Bushby, Inglefield, Knight, Stokes, and Lieutenant Burton of the marines, and I cannot do justice to the bravery of the petty officers and men under their orders, better than by transmitting the proof of the enemy's admiration of them as contained in the enclosed correspondence. "I have the honour, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"List of the gun-vessels composing the French flotilla bound from Alexandria and Damietta to St. John d'Acre, taken off Cape Carmel by H.M. ship Tigre, Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, K.S., the 18th March, 1799, at eight o'clock P.M., after a chase of three hours.

NAMES.	GUNS.	MEN.
La Negresse	6	53
La Foudre	8	52
La Dangereuse	6	23
La Marie Rose	4	22
La Dame de Grace	4	35
Les Deux Frères	4	23
La Torride (taken on the morning of that day and retaken)	2	30
	34 guns.	238 men.

"These gun-boats were loaded, besides their own complements, with

battering-cannon, ammunition, and every kind of siege equipage, for Buonaparte's army before Acre.

"N.B. The Marianne gun-boat was taken previously, and the Transport No. 1 subsequently, by the Tigre.

"On board the Tigre, off Acre,
the 23rd March, 1799.
(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

On the 2nd of April, Sir Sidney reports to the admiralty his proceeding to sea in quest of whatever might be coming coastwise, and his falling in with the transport, No. 1, laden with 1310 quintals of rice, 600 of flour, and 220 of biscuit; that he had left Acre so well supplied with everything, and in such a state of defence, that he had little doubt of its being able to hold out till he could send a Turkish force from the southward, to take the French in the rear, according to the Arabic and Turkish firmans, which he had communicated to the rebel chiefs of this district, who own they have learned, for the first time, the *real state of affairs;* and, he adds, that he has little doubt of being able to induce them to act *against* the French, whom they had hitherto regarded as *powerful friends;* and says, that this is the only means left them of making their peace with the Porte.

"The southerly gale," he says, "being over, and the regular land and sea breeze being set in as usual after the equinox, I hope to be at Acre to-morrow morning again; I trust to the Lion having taken care of Alexandria, and that by the arrival of the frigates requested, we shall be able to intercept what may escape Captain Dixon's vigilance."

"Tigre, off Alexandria, March 7th, 1799.

"My dear Mother,

"I have literally not had a moment's respite from my public duties of piloting my ship here, and directing distant branches of the service by my correspondence, besides making my report to my principal, so that I have not been able to write to you at length; I will not, however, allow a vessel that is passing to sail by without a line, to say that I am well, that I am here amusing myself very well in my favourite way, harassing the heroes of the great nation, and making them feel that the very best thing that can happen to them is, to become my prisoners, for by this means they get their bellies full and go home to their families, where of course they will abuse and oppose those who sent them on this wild-goose errand.

"Your affectionate and dutiful son,

(Signed) "W. Sidney Smith."

"This with my most affectionate regards to be communicated to my friend Lord Rivers, to whom I feel much in arrear, but I really cannot help it."

As General Montholon has divided briefly the siege of St. Jean d'Acre into three periods, that portion of the narrative which includes the times of each of his periods, will be followed separately after each period, to serve as a comparison of the two accounts.

First period—Commences 20th March, when the trenches were opened, and finishes on 1st April. Their *équipage de siége*, he says, consisted of a battery of thirty-two cannon, but they were useless in the way.

they were mounted, and were deficient in balls. These difficulties were got over by new mounting the cannon in four-and-twenty hours; and as to balls, Sir Sidney Smith, he says, provided us with them. "From time to time," he says, "a few horsemen or waggons were made to appear, and then this commodore approached the shore, and poured a rolling fire from all his batteries, and the soldiers, who got five sous for each ball which they brought to the director of artillery, ran and picked them up. They became so accustomed to this manœuvre, that they pursued their search in the midst of the cannonade, while laughter resounded on every side." All their artillery, including field pieces, he says, consisted of four twelve-pounders, eight howitzers, a battery of thirty-two pieces, and about thirty four-pounders. The soldiers flattered themselves with taking the town in three days, for, said they, it is not so strong as Jaffa; its garrison only amounts to two or three thousand men, whereas Jaffa, though a much smaller place, had a garrison of 8000 at the time it was taken." [But we are not told how many they left after the horrible massacre they committed in cold blood, and after the garrison had surrendered.]

He goes on to say, "On the 25th March, the battery and four twelve-pounders, in four hours, made a breach in the tower which was considered practicable. A young officer with fifteen sappers and twenty-five grenadiers, were ordered to mount to the assault and clear the fort of the tower; and another was to throw himself into the breach the instant this was done. A counterscarp of fifteen feet high, and a fosse of several toises in width stopped the sappers, and five or six being

wounded, the rest hastily retired to the trenches. A mine was constructed to blow up the counterscarp, and was sprung on the 28th March, but did not produce the intended effect, and only overthrew the half of the counterscarp. Mailly, an officer of the staff, with twenty-five grenadiers, and an officer of engineers, with six sappers, were ordered to advance against the counterscarp, taking with them three ladders with which they were to descend from it. They attached a ladder to the breach. Adjutant Lusigier, with two battalions, was told that the sappers and grenadiers were in the fosse, that the breach was practicable, and it was time for them to hasten to their assistance. Lusigier, just as he arrived at the counterscarp, met the grenadiers returning; they said that the breach was too high by several feet, and that Mailly and others were killed.

"When the Turks saw this young officer fixing the ladder a panic had seized them, and they had fled to the port; even Djezzar had embarked. Lusigier was killed and several men were lost without any good result. This event was very unfortunate. That was the day on which *the town ought to have been taken.*"

In his letter to the Earl St. Vincent, Sir Sidney complains that the old Pasha Djezzar had not carried into effect the measures that had been agreed upon for the defence of the town, and that, notwithstanding the indefatigable exertions of Colonel Phelypeaux, the enemy had pushed his approaches under cover of the garden wall, actually into the town ditch, was mining the tower which he had already battered in breach, and had placed scaling ladders against it, from which the Turks

knocked the assailants into the ditch, where Sir Sidney says about forty of their bodies are now lying. He succeeds in his attempt to rouse up the pasha, and gives a brief sketch of his character.

"TO THE EARL ST. VINCENT.

"Tigre, in Acre Bay, April 4th, 1799.

"MY LORD,

"I HAVE the honour to inform your lordship that as soon as I had placed the prize gun-boats to flank the enemy's approaches, supplied the garrison with ammunition, and made the necessary arrangements with Djezzar Pasha to secure the execution of a plan for the amelioration of the defences of the town, (fortifications they cannot be called,) I proceeded to sea in quest of whatever might be coming along the coast, in order to follow up the blow already given to the enemy's communications by that route.

"On the 24th March, I met the Alliance bound to Acre, in obedience to former orders, and did not divert her from her course, being very glad of such an addition to the force of the gun-boats in the bay, and equally happy to have the services of such a zealous officer as Captain Wilmot, at such a time. I enclose his journal to Captain Troubridge, under whose orders he was, which will account for his motions up to this day. Such is the critical situation of affairs here at this moment, and such the necessity of a ship of a light draught of water, to lie in-shore of the large ships to flank the enemy's trenches, that I must now take upon me to deviate from the injunction laid upon me by the above mentioned officer, with regard to

sending that ship down, for if I was to withdraw her from her present station before a frigate arrives, the enemy would be left totally free to make their approaches in any direction they pleased; whereas at present they are kept in check, on that side at least, by her well-directed fire. She fortunately rode out the equinoctial gales by being anchored in the undertow; the Tigre and Theseus clawed off shore by dint of carrying sail; but we are anxious for the fate of one of Buonaparte's transports, No. 1, which we captured on the 26th, and which separated from us before the gale came on; she was from Damietta, bound hither to the army, loaded with rice, bread, and flour, and the enemy must feel this loss in the proportion that we feel her cargo an acquisition to ourselves.*

"I am sorry to find no one of the measures agreed upon between the pasha and me, for the defence of the town, have been carried into execution, although Colonel Phelypeaux, an able officer of engineers, whom I left to superintend their execution, has been indefatigable in his endeavours to inculcate the necessity of them; the consequence of which is, that the enemy has pushed one of his approaches, under cover of the garden wall of the aqueduct, actually into the town ditch, where he is mining the angle of a tower, that he has already battered in breach, and against which he had once placed scaling ladders; they were, however, too short, and the Turks did exert themselves so far, on this occasion, as to knock the assailants off their ladders into the ditch, where about forty of their bodies now

* Since then she was cast away near lat. ——— ; the people all saved except one.

lie; but if this mine is suffered to go on, there will be no occasion for scaling-ladders next time. I urged him strongly to make a *sortie*, and he begins to listen to the suggestion: what seems to have more effect on him, than anything, is the idea I have thrown out, that if the enemy are suffered to come into the town I must, in my own defence, batter it down about their ears. He does not want for energy himself, but he has no second; and where there is nothing but a chief, with a multitude without subordinate officers, exertions that depend upon order cannot be expected. This accounts for two *sorties* he has made being unproductive of advantage; besides, Djezzar having been hitherto chiefly anxious to maintain his independence of the Porte, his heavy cannon are all pointed towards the sea, without any possibility of a land attack. He has, fortunately, a defence against two large English mortars mounted towards the land, which have been of the utmost use, but I am obliged to supply him with ammunition, which, with our constant firing single guns night and day on the enemy's workmen, reduces our stock, and occasions me to request an immediate supply of all kinds, particularly grenades and shells. "I have, &c.

"W. S. SMITH."

Montholon's second period, from April the 1st to April the 27th.—

"A new mine was opened, in order that the fosse might no longer present any obstacle. What had been done was found to be useless. The miners required eight days to make a new shaft; they succeeded perfectly in blowing up the counterscarp. On

the 12th the mine was continued under the fosse, with the aim of blowing up the whole tower; there was no longer any hope of entering it by the breach, the enemy having filled it with all kinds of firework makers. The mine was continued during six days; the besieged at length became aware of it, and made a sally in three columns; the centre one was headed by English: they were repulsed, and a captain of marines was killed in the shaft of the mine. On this same day, April 16th, the miners calculated that they were under the centre of the tower. On the 25th the mine was fired; but a vault which was under the tower misled the calculations, and the side next us was the only part blown up. Two or three hundred Turks, and some pieces of cannon, were buried in the ruins, for they had embattled every story of the tower and occupied it. The French resolved to profit by the first moments of surprise, and thirty men attempted to take possession of the tower; not being able entirely to succeed, they maintained their position in the lower stories, while the enemy occupied the upper ones, until the 26th, when General Veneux was wounded; they then evacuated it, in order to make use of our batteries against the now shaken building, and entirely to destroy it. On the 27th Cafarelli died."

"TO THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT.

"April 7th, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to inform your lordship, that as soon as the return of fine weather, after the equinoctial gale, allowed me to approach this unsheltered

anchorage, I resumed my station in the Bay, with the squadron under my orders. I found the enemy had profited by our forced absence, to push their approaches to the counterscarp, and even into the ditch of the N.E. angle of the town-wall, where they were employed mining the tower, to increase a breach they had already made in it, and which had been found impracticable, when they attempted to storm on the 1st instant. The Alliance and prize gun-boats, which had been caught in the gale, had fortunately rode it out, except one; and Captain Wilmot had been so indefatigable in mounting the prize-guns under the direction of an able officer of engineers, Colonel Phelypeaux, that the fire therefrom had already slackened that of the enemy; still, however, much was to be apprehended from the effect of the mine, and a *sortie* was determined on, in which the British marines and seamen were to force their way into it, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place this morning just before day-light. The impetuosity and noise of the Turks rendered the attempt to surprise the enemy abortive, though in other respects they did their part well. Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen-pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shot in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pike-men, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed, in its then state, by pulling down the supporters. Colonel Douglas, to whom I had given the necessary step of rank, to enable him to command the Turkish colonels, supported the

seamen in this desperate service with his usual gallantry, under the increased fire of the enemy, bringing off Lieutenant Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trench, from which they were not dislodged, as also Mr. Janverin, midshipman of the Tigre, and the rest of the wounded. The action altogether speaks for itself, and says more than could be said by me in praise of all concerned. I feel doubly indebted to Colonel Douglas, for having preserved my gallant friend *Lieutenant Wright*, whose life I am happy to say is not despaired of by the surgeon. We have, however, to lament the loss of an old and tried officer, Major Oldfield, who commanded the Theseus's marines, and fell gloriously on this occasion, with two of the men under his command; our loss in wounded is twenty-three, among which is Lieutenant Beatty of marines, slightly. The Turks brought in above sixty heads, a greater number of muskets, and some entrenching tools, much wanted in the garrison. A further attack on the enemy's second parallel was not to be attempted, without a greater number of regular troops; the return of the detachment was well covered by the Theseus's fire, Captain Miller having taken an excellent position to that effect. The result of our day's work is, that we have taught the besiegers to respect the enemy they have to deal with, so as to keep at a greater distance. The apprehensions of the garrison are quieted as to the effect of the mine, which we have besides learnt how to countermine with advantage, and more time is gained for the arrival of the reinforcements daily expected. I am, &c.,

"W. S. Smith."

"Return of the killed and wounded, belonging to his Majesty's ships Tigre, Theseus, and Alliance, at the *sortie* from the town of Acre, against the French besieging that town, on the seventh day of April, 1799.

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Tigre		Lieut. Wright. Mr. Janverin, midshipman. Eleven men.
Theseus	Major Oldfield, officer of marines. Two marine privates.	Lieut. Beatty, of marines. Mr. James M. B. Forbes, midshipman, slightly. Serjeant Cavanagh. Four private marines.
Alliance		One seaman. Two marines.

Total, 3 killed; 23 wounded.

"On board his Majesty's ship Tigre, off Acre,
the 8th day of April, 1799.

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

On the 1st of May, Sir Sidney sends a few lines to the secretary of the admiralty, merely to say,

"WE have, since my letter of the 7th of April, been every hour employed in resisting the vigorous attacks of a most desperate enemy, and hitherto with success, which is all I have time to say at present, as the increased fire from his batteries gives us ample employment just at this moment.

"P.S. The enemy has made a fourth attempt to scale the walls, and is beaten back.

"W. S. S."

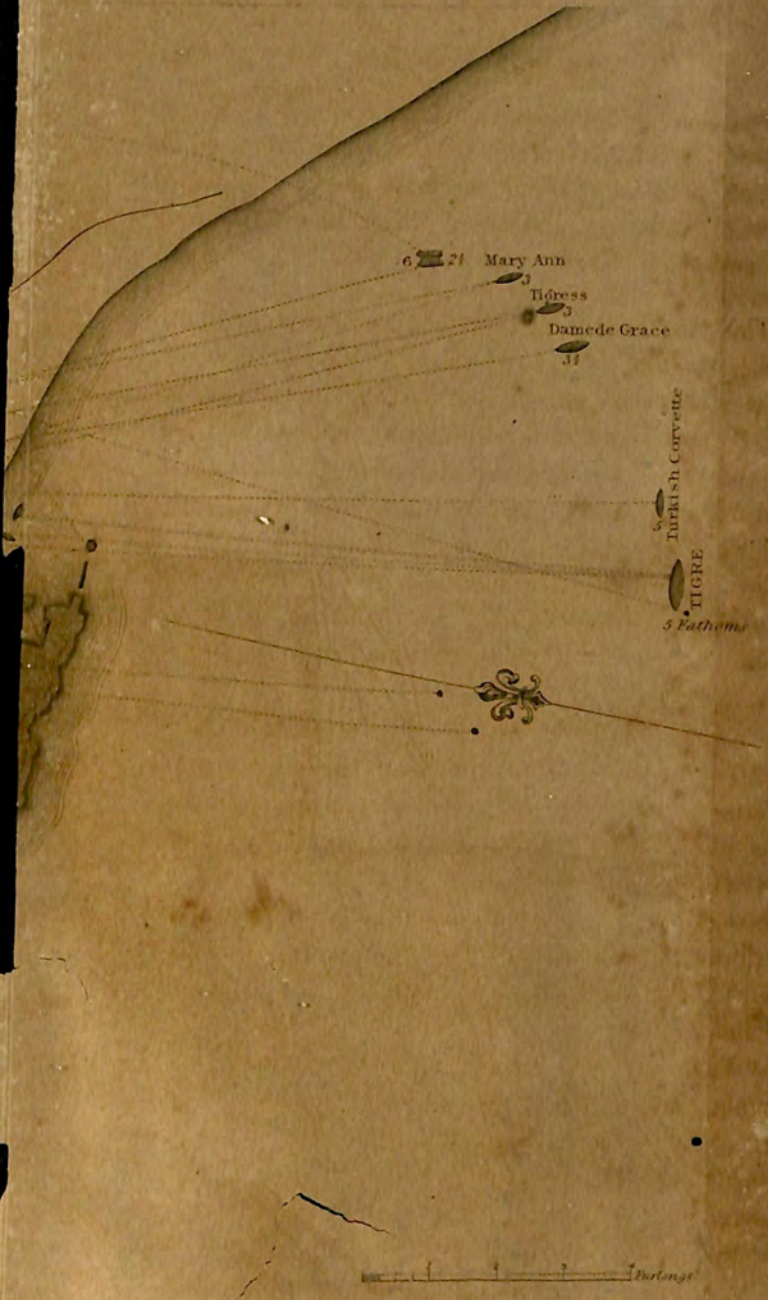
The following private letter from Mr. J. Keith (Sir Sidney Smith's private secretary), to General E. Smith (Sir Sidney's uncle), conveys interesting information.

"Tigre, 1st May.

"DEAR SIR,

"Sir Sidney has written officially both to the commander-in-chief, and *viâ* Constantinople, giving the gross result of our operations here; and I avail myself of the opportunity of a vessel bound to Zante or Corfu, to let you know that the hero of the Pyramids (Buonaparte,) has made, this very day, a *fourth* attempt to carry the town of Acre by storm, in which, however, he has again been most fatally disappointed. The Tigre and Theseus had twice before convinced him, that no *coup de main* could be easily performed within the range of their guns. However, a strong gale, with a heavy swell from the S.S.W. and S.W. having set in last night, and continued during the forenoon, he kept up an incessant fire upon the walls all the morning, and at half-past 11 o'clock, we plainly discovered him marching about 2,000 men from the camp to the trenches; a body of men sprang out from the inner lines, and with six ladders, boldly scrambled up a wall of upwards of thirty feet high, backed by all the men in the trenches, ready to follow them.

"The six men were instantly killed by the Turks upon the breach, and at the same time the ships beginning their broadsides upon the trenches, joined to the shells and musketry from the garrison, their repulse was bloody; and at 4 o'clock we saw the unfortunate men march back to their camp in great disorder, and I suppose much disheartened; for this is the most poignant of all their disappointments. If the Turkish army from Rhodes and Macri would but make its appearance, as it might have done about three weeks ago (since



with the positions of the
ON co operating with GEZZAR AHMET PASHA in its Defence
the 2nd day of May 1799

troops, ammunition, provisions, and stores were embarked the end of March), the business would soon be settled; but until then we must confine ourselves to the defence of the town, which they will never get possession of as long as we are afloat."

This same assault is described by Sir Sidney Smith in a letter, 2nd May, to the Earl St Vincent, in which he mentions the death of that brave and excellent officer, Colonel Phelypeaux, who fell a sacrifice to his zeal in the projection and superintendence of the works, and from exposure to the sun, which brought on a fever. "Our grief for this loss," says Sir Sidney, "is excessive, on every account." He mentions also the loss of Captain Wilmot, who was shot by a rifleman, as he was mounting a howitzer; and states his loss to be severely felt.

"Tigre, moored under the walls of Acre, May 2nd, 1799.

"The enemy continue to make the most vigorous efforts to overcome our resistance in the defence of this place. The garrison has made occasional *sorties* protected by our small boats on their flank with field pieces, in which the most essential service has been performed by Lieutenant Brodie and Mr. Atkinson of the Theseus, and Mr. Ives master of the Tigre, who commanded them.

"Yesterday, the enemy, after many hours' heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery brought from Jaffa, made a fourth attempt to mount the breach, now much widened, but were repulsed with loss. The Tigre moored on one side and the Theseus on the other, flank the town walls; and the gun-boats, launches, and other

rowing boats, continue to flank the enemy's trenches, to their great annoyance. Nothing but desperation can induce them to make the sort of attempts they do to mount a breach, practicable only by the means of scaling ladders, under such a fire as we pour in upon them; and it is impossible to see the lives, even of our enemies, thus sacrificed, and so much bravery misapplied without regret. Our loss is as per list enclosed, and we have therein to lament some of the bravest and best among us. Captain Wilmot was shot on the 8th ultimo, by a rifleman, as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach; his loss is severely felt.

"We have run out a ravelin on each side of the enemy's nearest approach, in which the marines of the Tigre and Theseus have worked, under a heavy and incessant fire from the enemy, in a way that commands the admiration and gratitude of the Turks, as it is evident the flanking fire produced from them contributed much to save the place yesterday. Colonel Phelypeaux of the engineers, who projected and superintended the execution, has fallen a sacrifice to his zeal for this service; want of rest and exposure to the sun having given him a fever, of which he died this morning; our grief for this loss is excessive on every account. Col. Douglas supplies his place, having hitherto carried on the work under his direction, and is indefatigable in completing it for the reception of cannon. I must not omit to mention to the credit of the Turks, that they fetch gabions, fascines, and those materials which the garrison does not afford, from the face of the enemy's works, setting fire to what they cannot bring away. The enemy repair in one night all the mischief we do

them in the day, and continue within half pistol-shot of the walls, in spite of the constant fire kept up from the ramparts under the direction of Lieutenant Knight, whose indefatigable zeal and bravery merit praise.

"I hope I need not assure your lordship, that we shall continue to do our duty to the utmost of our power, in spite of all obstacles, among which climate, as it affects health, and the exposed nature of our rocky anchorage, are the most formidable, since they are not to be overcome, which I trust the enemy *are*, by our exertions.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"Return of the casualties, killed, and wounded, belonging to his Majesty's ships Tigre, Theseus, and Alliance, between the eighth day of April, 1799, and the second day of May following, employed in the defence of Acre.

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Tigre	Mr. Edward Morris, midshipman. James Maugham. Andrew Wall. Robert Bennet.	Lieut. Knight, a contusion in his breast. Wm. Hutchinson. Wm. Pickard. James Bailey. John Bolton, boatswain's mate. Jos. Hudson. Jos. Vincquez. William Price.
Theseus	John Rich, seaman.	John Chidlow, marine.
Alliance	Capt. Wilmot, by a rifle shot as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach.	

Total, 6 killed; 9 wounded.

"On board his Majesty's ship Tigre, St. Jean d'Acre Bay, the second day of May, 1799.

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Extract of a letter from Sir Sidney Smith to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

"Tigre, Acre, May 3rd, 1799.

"SIR,

"The enemy have made two attempts since yesterday morning to force the two English ravelins, but were repulsed with loss; the works have now cannon mounted on them and are nearly completed; we have thus the satisfaction of finding ourselves on the forty-sixth day of the siege, in a better state of defence than we were the first day the enemy opened their trenches, notwithstanding the increase of the breach, which they continue to batter with effect, and the garrison, having occasionally closed with the enemy in several *sorties*, feel greater confidence that they shall be able to resist an assault, for which they are prepared.

"W. S. S."

"THE EARL OF ST. VINCENT.

"Tigre, Acre, 9th May, 1799.

"I had the honour to inform your lordship, by my letter of the second instant, that we were busily employed completing two ravelins for the reception of cannon, to flank the enemy's nearest approaches, distant only ten yards from them. They were attacked that very night, and almost every night since, but the enemy have each time been repulsed with very considerable loss. They have continued to batter in breach with progressive success, and have nine several times attempted to storm, but have been as often beat back with immense slaughter. Our best mode of de-

fence has been frequent *sorties* to keep them on the defensive and impede the progress of their covering works. We have thus been in one continued battle ever since the beginning of the siege, interrupted only at short intervals by the excessive fatigue of every individual on both sides.

"We have been long anxiously looking for a reinforcement, without which we could not expect to be able to keep the place so long as we have. The delay in its arrival being occasioned by Hassan Bey's having originally received orders to join me in Egypt; I was obliged to be very peremptory in the repetition of my orders for him to join me here; it was not, however, till the evening of the day before yesterday, the fifty-first day of the siege, that his fleet of corvettes and transports made its appearance. The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte, for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town, before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark.

"The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased tenfold; our flanking fire from afloat was, as usual, plied to the utmost, but with less effect than heretofore, as the enemy had thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect them from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were a French brass 18-pounder in the Light-house castle, manned from the Theseus, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's mate; and the last mounted 24-pounder, in the north ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman. These guns, being within grape

distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musketry, did great execution; and I take this opportunity of recommending these two petty officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merit my warmest praise.

"The Tigre's two 68-pounder carronades, mounted in two germes lying in the mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of the Tigre, (one of the bravest and most intelligent men I ever served with,) threw shells into the centre of this column with evident effect and checked it considerably; still, however, the enemy gained ground, and made a lodgment on the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted. Daylight shewed us the French standard on the outer angle of the tower.

"The fire of the besieged was much slackened, in comparison to that of the besiegers, and our flanking fire was become of less effect, the enemy having covered themselves in this lodgment, and in the approach to it, by two traverses across the ditch, which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them during the whole of the night, and which were now seen composed of sand bags, and *the bodies of their dead, built in with them*, their bayonets alone being visible above them.

"Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though as yet but half way on shore; this was a most critical point of the contest, and an effort was necessary to preserve the place for a short time till their arrival. I accordingly landed the boats at the mole, and took the crews

up to the breach armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, is not to be described; many fugitives returned with us to the breach, which we found defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missible weapons were heavy stones which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault; the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as a breast-work for both, the muzzles of their muskets touching, and the spearheads of the standards locked.

"Djezzar Pasha, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station where, according to ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket cartridges with his own hands. The energetic old man, coming behind us, pulled us down with violence, saying if any harm happened to his English friends all was lost.

"This amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan Bey's troops.

"I had now to combat the pasha's repugnance to admitting any troops, but his Albanians, into the garden of his seraglio, become a very important post, as occupying the *terre pleine* of the rampart. There were not above two hundred of the original thousand Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate, and I overruled his objections, by introducing the *Chifflick*

regiment of a thousand men, armed with bayonets and disciplined after the European method, under Sultan Selim's own eye, and placed by his imperial majesty's express commands at my disposal. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being consequently enough to defend the breach, I proposed to the pasha, to get rid of the object of his jealousy, to open his gates to let them make a sally, and take the assailants in flank. He readily complied, and I gave directions to the colonel to get possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench, and there fortify himself by shifting the parapet outwards. This order being clearly understood, the gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out; but they were not equal to such a movement, and were driven back to the town with loss. Mr. Bray, however, as usual, protected the town gate efficaciously with grape from the 68-pounders. The *sortie* had this good effect, that it obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapet, so that our flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, so that the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed, by our few remaining hand grenades thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the Theseus. The enemy began a new breach, by an incessant fire directed to the southward of the lodgment, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition.

"The groups of generals and aides-de-camp, which the shells from the 68-pounders had frequently dis-

persed, were now reassembled on Richard Cœur-de-Lion's mount. Buonaparte was distinguishable in the centre of the semi-circle; his gesticulation indicated a renewal of attack, and his despatching an aide-de-camp to the camp shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. I gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their station in the shoal water to the southward, and made the Tigre's signal to weigh and join the Theseus to the northward.

"A little before sunset, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with solemn step. The pasha's idea was not to defend the breach this time; but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the pasha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced amongst them lay headless corpses, the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the rest retreated precipitately, and the commanding officer, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, and whom we have since learnt to be General Lasne, was carried off wounded by a musket shot; General Rombaud was killed. Much confusion arose in the town, from the actual entry of the enemy, it having been impossible, nay impolitic, to give previous information to every body of the mode of defence adopted, lest the enemy should come to a knowledge of it, by means of their numerous emissaries.

"The English uniform, which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the old garrison, wherever it ap-

peared, was now in the dusk mistaken for French, the newly arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd. Thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by our officers, among whom Colonel Douglas, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives. Calm was restored by the Pasha's exertions, aided by Mr. Frotté, just arrived with Hassan Bey; and thus the contest of twenty-five hours ended, both parties being so fatigued as to be unable to move.

"Buonaparte will, no doubt, renew the attack, the breach being, as above described, perfectly practicable for fifty men abreast; indeed the town is not, nor ever has been, defensible, according to the rules of art; but according to every other rule, it must and shall be defended; not that it is in itself worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach Buonaparte means to march to further conquest. 'Tis on the issue of this conflict, that depends the opinion of the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills, who wait only to see how it ends to join the victor; and with such a reinforcement for the execution of his known projects, Constantinople and even Vienna must feel the shock.

"Be assured, my lord, the magnitude of our obligations does but increase the energy of our efforts, in the attempt to discharge our duty; and though we may and probably shall be overpowered, I can venture to say, that the French army will be so much further weakened, before it prevails, as to be little able to profit by its dear bought victory.

"W. S. S."

"P.S.—I am not yet enabled to send you an exact list of the killed and wounded, but it is inconsiderable, as we are so few on the whole, and there is no officer included. Our casualties happen chiefly in the boats, which are obliged to land at the only landing-place, under the enemy's fire of grape and musquetry—devoted to that object whenever they see a boat move. In the works we are perfectly covered, except our heads, and on these occasions we do not in general wear hats, there being 150 marksmen in the French trenches stationed to pick off the English. "W. S. S."

An absurd report prevailed at Acre, and was widely circulated, that Sir Sidney Smith, in order to decide the fate of Acre, had sent a challenge to Napoleon, who returned for answer, that if a Marlborough were to call on him he would receive a reply. Sir Sidney, (says a friend,) told me that there was not a word of truth in the story; that he knew his duty better than to have so committed himself and the army he commanded; "but," observed the gallant hero, "I am not responsible for all the folly of which my friends would make me guilty. The French are right as to the falsehood of the statement; the only thing of which I complain," he added, "is their vapouring when they say, as I understand they do, that a man, in my humble position in the world, should have dared to send a cartel to the emperor—forgetting that at that time we were of equal rank—he, General Buonaparte, commander-in-chief of the French army in Egypt, and I, General Smith, commander-in-chief of the Turkish army, *so* specially constituted by the Emperor Selim."

The above repetition of an absurd report opened the subject of duelling; and as a lasting monument to the suavity of his manner, and the kindness of his disposition, it may be recorded that, on this occasion, Sir Sidney stated that "through a long life he had never given such offence to a human being, as to be once called upon for satisfaction to the party aggrieved; and had never received any which required him to seek it from another: I therefore," he added, "incline to the opinion that the practice is barbarous and unnecessary."

But though Sir Sidney had no intercourse with Napoleon, in the way of duelling, there is very little doubt that he did not suffer him to depart from before Acre, without sending him a few friendly lines of advice. They are said to be contained in *Le Précis Historique.*

LETTRE DE SIR SIDNEY SMITH, DANS ST. JEAN D'ACRE, A BUONAPARTE.

"Neanmoins il est très vrai que Sydney Smith écrivit à Buonaparte devant Saint Jean d'Acre, j'ai été plus d'une fois émmené de parcourir sa lettre; comme elle ne compromet personne, la voici mot pour mot.

"'Général, je sais depuis quelques jours les dispositions que vous faites pour lever le siège; la précaution de faire partir vos blessés, et de ne laisser personne derrière vous, fait votre éloge. Ce dernier mot ne devrait point se trouver dans ma bouche, moi qui ne dois point vous aimer, pour ne pas dire plus; mais lès circonstances me ramenent à désirer que vous réflechissiez sur l'instabilité des choses humaines. En effet, eussiez-vous cru, qu'un pauvre détenu dans les cachots

du Temple—qu'un infortuné pour lequel vous refusâtes de vous intéresser un moment, pouvant surtout lui rendre un signale service, puisque alors vous étiez tout-puissant—auriez-vous cru, dis-je, que ce même homme deviendrait votre antagoniste, et vous forcerait, dans les sables de la Syrie, à lever le siége d'une mauvaise bicoque? Voila des évènemens, vous l'avouerez, qui passent tous les calculs humains. Croyez moi, général, prenez des sentimens plus modérés; et celui-là ne serait point votre ennemi, qui vous dirait que l'Asie n'est point un théâtre fait pour votre gloire. Cette lettre est une petite vengeance que je me donne. Je vous salue, etc.'" "W. S. S."

LETTER OF SIR SIDNEY SMITH AT ST. JEAN D'ACRE TO GENERAL BUONAPARTE.

"Notwithstanding it is very true that Sir Sidney Smith wrote to Buonaparte before St. Jean d'Acre, I have more than once run over his letter, and as it compromises no one, here it is word for word.

"'General, I am acquainted with the dispositions that for some days past you have been making to raise the siege; the preparations in hand to carry off your wounded, and to leave none behind you, do you great credit. This last word ought not to escape my mouth—I, who ought not to love you, to say nothing more: but circumstances remind me to wish that you would reflect on the instability of human affairs. In fact, could you have thought that a poor prisoner in a cell of the Temple prison—that an unfortunate for whom

you refused, for a single moment, to give yourself any concern, being at the same time able to render him a signal service, since you were then all-powerful—could you have thought, I say, that this same man would have become your antagonist, and have compelled you, in the midst of the sands of Syria, to raise the siege of a miserable, almost defenceless town (*bicoque*) ? Such events, you must admit, exceed all human calculations. Believe me, general, adopt sentiments more moderate; and that man will not be your enemy, who shall tell you that Asia is not a theatre made for your glory. This letter is a little revenge that I give myself.'"

From the last letter of the 9th May, it appears that, from the 2nd of that month, the ravelins constructed for the reception of cannon were almost every night attacked by the enemy, who were every time repulsed; that nine several times they had attempted to storm, and were as often beaten back with immense slaughter: it states that they had been in one continued battle since the beginning of the siege.

Hassan Bey had just arrived with his reinforcement, only on the fifty-first day of the siege, when his fleet of corvettes and transports made their appearance. These, together with an 18-pounder gun from the Theseus, and a 24-pounder from the Tigre, admirably managed by two petty officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal, says Sir Sidney, merit my warmest praise, had a most powerful effect. Two 68-pounder carronades threw shells into the centre of the advanced column with evident destruction; still the enemy gained

ground, and made a lodgment on the second story of the N.E. tower; and daylight shewed to the besieged the French standard flying on the outer angle of the tower.

The enemy had, during the night, and in the midst of a heavy fire, (as stated in Sir Sidney's letter of the 9th May,) constructed two traverses across the ditch, composed of sandbags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them: in this position, their bayonets alone being visible above them. On Hassan Bey's troops getting on shore, a desperate battle was fought, the crews of the vessels marching to the breach armed with pikes; the whole account, as given by Sir Sidney, is most picturesque, not the least so at that moment when old Djezzar hastened down into the breach to pull back the English.

This was by far the most severe attack, led on by Buonaparte, so that old Djezzar, (as stated in the said letter,)—on hearing that so many of the English were in the breach,—left his seat, where, according to the ancient custom of the Turks, he was sitting to distribute the usual reward to such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and also giving out musket cartridges with his own hands to all such as should require them: these customary duties of a pasha, on this emergency, were relinquished, and the energetic old man, rushing down to the very front of the conflict, pulled back his English friends with violence, saying, that "if any harm happen to the English, all is lost."*

One day when Sir Sidney was riding out with Djez-

* From this passage is a picture painted representing Sir Sidney at the head of the fight, with old Djezzar forcibly pulling him back with the above exclamation.

zar, the conversation turned on the superior metal of the Damascus blade, so that a single blow, he said, from one of these well struck, would separate the head from the body of any animal, man or beast, without turning or damaging the edge. "Now," says he, "the one I carry about with me never fails; it has taken off some dozens of heads." "Very well, pasha," said Sir Sidney, "could you not now give me ocular proof of the merit of your Damascus, and at the same time of your own expertness, by slicing off, *en passant*, the head of one of the oxen we are just approaching?" "*Ah, q'oui, Monsieur, c'est deja fait;*" and springing off in a gallop, he smote a poor ox as it was grazing close to the path, and the head was immediately rolling on the ground. A friend heard Sir Sidney tell this at a dinner party, when one gentleman present observed that "this old pasha must have been an expert anatomist to hit the joint so exactly." "Or rather a butcher," replied Sir Sidney; "his name is Djezzar, the butcher, and that is a profession that deals in joints—but Djezzar would be very likely to tell you that a Damascus sabre regarded neither joints nor bones."

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO J. SPENCER SMITH, ESQ.

"Acre, May 14th, 1799.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"Events succeed each other so fast here, that it is impossible for those employed in creating them to record them; suffice it therefore to say, that the enemy have been repulsed in *eleven* different attempts to assault the place. That this day they are not in possession of Acre, although they have a lodgment on

the N.E. angle of the N.E. tower, one-half of which is theirs, and the other half ours, while we keep possession of the two new English ravelins, which flank the approach to this lodgment, and have raised batteries *within* the breach, which is wide enough for fifty men abreast, the fire from which completely cleared it the last assaults, and increased the number of dead bodies in the ditch. Our labour is *excessive:* many of us, among whom our anxious zealous friend Phélypeaux, have died of fatigue. I am but half dead, but Buonaparte brings fresh troops to the assault two and three times in the night, while we are obliged to be always under arms. He has lost the flower of his army, in these desperate attempts to storm, as appears by the certificates of former services which we find in their pockets, and eight generals.

"A report is brought us, that Buonaparte is wounded in the thigh, but I know not whether it is true. Scarce a day but what I lose somebody! How I have escaped hitherto I know not, fired at and marked as I am, from *within* as well as without. Still, however, we keep the bull pinned, and compare our breach to a mouse-trap, in which any mouse or number of mice that come are sure to be caught. We have been now near two months constantly under fire and firing: our ammunition is consequently nearly expended, and unfortunately, we cannot be in two places at once, yet Djezzar tells me, if I go, the place is gone; we cannot take care of the coast lower down than Mount Carmel. So that the French not only receive supplies from Alexandria, by way of Jaffa, but they have taken Abdallaga and the bombardiers from Constantinople, and

are actually throwing those shells at us. I sent the Theseus after three French frigates yesterday off Cesarea, being just able to spare her for an interval; she got sight of them, chased them, but the disablement from a SAD accident, obliged her to haul off. Sixty odd shells blew up at three explosions under the forepart of the poop, killed and wounded thirty-two men, including those who jumped overboard and were drowned; and *alas!* among the former, we have to lament Captain Miller, our zealous and indefatigable supporter to the north,—a station I have been obliged to take during his absence; and I now cannot chase these frigates without leaving the town to its fate: why have I not more efficient force? Hassan Bey's two frigates either are non-effective, or, if effective as to crews, have been obliged to disembark their men to defend the breach in their turn. The Chifflick men, (so named from the barracks near Constantinople,) who were unsteady the first day, (and it must be confessed they joined me at a time that we were under a fire, enough to astonish young soldiers,) have now recovered their credit. You must see by my writing that I am almost blind, what with the dust from shells, hot sun, and much writing to keep things square here.

"I have two emissaries from the Druses and Christians of Mount Lebanon, who are come in consequence of my message to them to that effect, and they promise me, that all I required of them shall be done against the enemy, now that they see how powerful we are to protect them.

"Wright is on shore better.

"Adieu, (Signed) "W. S. S.

"P. S. I really have not time to write to many, expecting it of me, you must therefore account for me, and transmit what you please from my journal materials, which I mean to send you rough as they run."

"TO ADMIRAL THE EARL ST. VINCENT, K.B.

"Tigre, off St. Jean d'Acre, May 15th, 1799.

"MY LORD, -

"It is with inexpressible grief that I have to inform your lordship of a most melancholy accident which happened yesterday on board his majesty's ship Theseus, occasioned by the bursting of seventy shells, at the fore-part of Captain Miller's cabin, by which he lost his life, as he did likewise twenty-five men. The service suffers from his loss at this conjuncture, in the proportion by which it gained advantage by his gallant example, his indefatigable zeal, and consummate skill, in conducting the operations for the defence of the north side of the town committed to his management. He had long been in the practice of collecting such of the enemy's shells, as fell in the town without bursting, and of sending them back to the enemy better prepared, and with evident effect. He had a deposit on board the Theseus ready for service, and more were preparing when, by an accident for which nobody can account, they exploded at short intervals. The particulars are transmitted in Lieutenant England's letter to me, herewith enclosed; and that officer appears to have great merit for his exertions, in conjunction with those of the officers and men whom he names, by which that ship was saved, although on fire in five places. I

have accordingly taken Lieutenant England to my assistance, in the Tigre, as first-lieutenant in lieu of Lieutenant Canes, whom I have appointed to act as captain of the Theseus, having had reason to approve of his conduct in general, and particularly when I occasionally had to confide the charge of the Tigre to him during my forced absence on shore, in conducting the operations for the defence of the place, which the Turks were unequal to. Indeed, so helpless are they, except when conducted, or rather driven by us; and so sensible is the pasha of their insufficiency, that, on hearing I meant to take the two ships to the back of Mount Carmel, to attack the three French frigates there landing ammunition, his excellency made the most pressing solicitations that I would not withdraw, even for an hour, as he was certain not a man of his would in that case remain on the works, and the town would consequently be taken the next assault. I was therefore very reluctantly obliged to send Turkish ships only, in conjunction with the Theseus, on that service, and forced to remain to oppose the enemy before the town. Lieutenant England, as your lordship observes by his letter, performed the service of chasing the enemy off the coast; and as I cannot quit this spot, and have not powder enough left in the two ships for a long action, my only hope is, that the Lion will join me here, as it appears by the enclosed letter from Captain Dixon, that he knows how we are situated. I have sent the Foudre gun-boat, and likewise a Turkish corvette, down to him, off Alexandria, to acquaint him how much we stand in need of his assistance; for independent of his additional force, his ammunition, parti-

cularly twelve and 24-pounder-shot and grape, of which there is *none* left in the garrison, would be of the greatest service. We are likewise in the utmost want of our carpenters and sail-makers, to render the Theseus fit for service, and to keep the gun-boats effective. I await your Lordship's authorization to go through the necessary form of purchasing them for the service. Meanwhile, as it cannot go on at all without them, I have appointed a vice-admiralty court for their condemnation, so that, by your lordship's sanction, the purchase can be made here.

"I have the honour to be, &c. "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Mr. Secretary Keith, (the 16th of May, 1799,) to his correspondent at Smyrna, informs him "that Buonaparte is not yet in possession of Acre. He has made *eleven* desperate attempts to take it by storm, in all which he has been repelled with great slaughter. He has had eight generals killed, more than eighty of his best officers, all his guides, carabineers, grenadiers, and most of his artillerymen, in all upwards of 4,000 men, the flower of his army. Nothing can surpass the bravery of the Turks, in the four last attempts; they boldly rushed in on the republican bayonets, *sabre in hand*, cutting in pieces every bearer of them, with but little loss to themselves, as the French never had time to fire more than one round before they closed with them. This mode of defence has been enforced at the desire of Sir Sidney Smith, who with his friend Captain Miller, is constantly on shore to cheer the garrison, and to direct and execute every measure of defence and attack. I

hope soon to be able to give you a more detailed account of our operations now in agitation, which, if they do not effectuate the total overthrow of the enemy, will place them in a bad situation.

"Buonaparte has lost all his popularity, and the confidence of his troops. They will all soon be destroyed one way or another, for the princes of the mountains, his only friends in this country, are all coming over to us, and have actually withdrawn from him all supplies."

The eight French generals killed, as mentioned in Sir Sidney's letter, and named by Keith, are Lascalle, Caffarelli, Laugier, Lasne, Devos, Vaux, Rampon, Decqua.

Another note from Mr. Keith, dated Acre, 13th of May, 1799, (6 o'clock, A.M.), says, "I am just come in from a night's cruize in the barge. The French fired musketry at me, to which I gave no other answer than roaring out to them, '*that we were so tired of killing them and seeing them killed, that we now wished to see them surrender, and give us an opportunity of saving them.*' They cannot hold out much longer, and as for the town, the universal wish is, that they would condescend to enter it, so as to make an end of them. I wish the business was over here, to give us some rest, which we have all much need of. Sir Sidney is pretty well * * * * (a word seems to be wanting in this place in the original to complete the sense, perhaps 'employed,' or 'occupied,') particularly in the smoke, musketry, and ditch fight, all of which is become a matter of course, with all but two officers remaining with the ship.. God bless you and all with you."

Montholon's third period, from April the 27th to May the 30th.—

"During this period, the enemy felt that if they remained on the defensive, they were lost. The countermines which they had made did not sufficiently secure them. All the battlements of the wall were destroyed, and the pieces dismounted by our batteries. A reinforcement of 3,000 men, which had entered the place, had, however, repaired all their losses.

"But the imaginations of the Turkish troops were struck with terror, and they could no longer be persuaded to remain on the walls, or in the tower; they fancied that every place was undermined. Phélypeaux, it is admitted, traced such lines, and two trenches, which took all their works in flank; in a few days, as is stated, the enemy flanked the whole tower on the right and on the left.

"On the 1st of May, the French gained possession, without loss, of the most projecting part of the counter-attack. Twenty men attempted to occupy the tower, but the enemy appearing in force on the right, and their balls pouring on the detachment in the rear, compelled them to retreat. The sally was energetically repeated—from five to six hundred of the besieged were killed, and a great number were driven into the sea.

"On the 6th, the enemy sallied by a sap, which was covered by the fosse, surprised the mask of the mine, and filled up its shaft.

"On the 7th, a reinforcement of 12,000 men arrived to the assistance of the besieged. Immediately on hearing that they were signalled, we brought

into operation a 24-pounder; it overthrew a part of the wall by the right of the tower which was to our left. During the night the French threw themselves on all the enemy's works, overthrew them, killed every one who came in their way, spiked the cannon, mounted to the assault, took possession of the tower, and entered the place; and had, in short, made themselves masters of the town, when the freshly landed troops presented themselves in formidable numbers. Rambant was killed, 150 men perished with him, or were taken; Lannes was wounded. The besieged sallied from every gate, and regained the breach; but here their success ended; the French marched upon them, and after having driven them back into the town, and having cast off several of their columns, re-established themselves in the breach. In this affair we made seven or eight hundred prisoners, armed with European bayonets; they came from Constantinople. The enemy's loss was enormous—all our batteries poured showers of grape upon them; and our success appeared so great that, on the 10th, at two in the morning, Napoleon ordered a new assault. General Bon was mortally wounded in this last action. There were 20,000 men in the town, and Djezzar's house and all the others were so filled with people, that we could not pass the breach. In such circumstances, what course was the general-in-chief to pursue? Having a third time got artillery, we had enough to afford us hopes of reducing the town; but, on the other hand, the prisoners announced that fresh reinforcements were preparing to leave Rhodes, where they had embarked. The reinforcements received, or about to be received by the enemy,

might render the success of the siege doubtful; so far distant as we were both from France and Egypt, we could not afford to suffer fresh losses. The number of our wounded at Jaffa, and in camp, was 12,000, and the plague was in our hospitals. On the 20th the siege was raised."

Another short narrative of Buonaparte being obliged to raise the siege of Acre follows, written by an aide-de-camp of the general.

"Buonaparte had brought with him into Egypt eight aides-de-camp, four of whom perished; Julien and Sulkonsky were assassinated by the Arabs, Crosier slain at Jean-d'Acre, Guibert at Aboukir, Duroc and Eugene Beauharnais were severely wounded, Lavalette was of all the others the most engaged, yet he escaped.

"Lavalette admitted to the intimacy of Buonaparte, at his entertainments, and at his amusements, his table companion, and his ordinary reader, partook also his dangers. He combated near to his person at the battle of the Pyramids, and at mount Tabor; he traversed the desert by his side; he followed him to the murderous siege of St. Jean d'Acre. This was a memorable epoch of his life, and upon which his recollections are brought back to his mind with pleasure. His friends no doubt will recall to their minds that recital of the fourteenth assault, under the command of Kleber, that he delighted to repeat, and which resembled a page devoted into an epic poem.

"They had cut through the curtain which protected a vast enclosure of the city, and the palace of Djezzar. The grenadiers of Kleber returned to the trenches by

a vigorous fusillade, demanding, with loud shouts, a renewal of the assault. Buonaparte hesitated, but urged by these brave men, he gave the signal. It was a grand and terrific spectacle; the grenadiers rushed forward under a shower of balls. Kleber, with the gait of a giant, with his thick head of hair, had taken his post, sword in hand, on the bank of the breach, and animated the assailants. The noise of the cannon, the enthusiastic shouts,—the rage of our soldiers, and the yelling of the Turks, mingled themselves with the bursts of his thundering voice.

"At the same time, the General Buonaparte standing on the battery of the breach, and following this movement with his glass placed upon the fascines, a ball passed above his head, and the commotion upset him. In vain did Berthier prevail on him to quit this perilous post,—he received no answer—at the same moment another ball struck to death the young and unfortunate Anighi, as he stood between the general-in-chief and Lavalette. Others were also killed close by the general, without causing him to make the least sign of moving from the spot. All at once the column of the besiegers came to a standstill. Buonaparte threw himself forward from the battery, and then perceived, that at the place where the soldiers were stopped, the ditch was vomiting out flames, a thick explosion of the materials, with which the mine was charged, came out of the ground, and overthrew every one who attempted to approach it. The troops, notwithstanding, persevered with an incredible ardour. Kleber, in great rage, struck his thigh with his sword; but the general-in-chief judging the obstácle to be insurmountable, gave

a gesture, and ordered a retreat—and thus finished the siege of Saint Jean d'Acre.

"Buonaparte having quitted Syria, and added to his immortal campaign the bulletin of Aboukir, resigned to Kleber the command of his army; was received on the shore of France by the enthusiasm of the citizens, and conducted in triumph even to Paris; with a breath he overturned the throne of the directors, France applauded, above all, when the young hero, borne upon the consular shield, by his lieutenants, appeared to their eyes as an arbiter and a saviour. Lavalette had followed Buonaparte on his return, and assisted his general in the *coup de main* of the 18th Brumaire."

Such is the story of Lavalette, apparently told by himself.

And now let our gallant hero himself tell the concluding act of this memorable siege, by which the safety of the ancient and once-renowned city of St. Jean d'Acre was secured against French rapacity.

TO LORD NELSON.

"My Lord, "Tigre, at anchor off Jaffa, 30th May, 1799.

"The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifested in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army; the means we had of opposing its gigantic efforts against us, being totally inadequate of themselves to the production of such a result. The measure of their iniquities seems to have been filled by the massacre of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cold blood, three days after their capture, and the plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Buonaparte's extraordinary career.

"He raised the siege of Acre on the 20th May, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed. The circumstances which led to this event, subsequent to my last despatch of the 9th instant, are as follow:

"Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistible prowess of these invaders, must be changed since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of Mount Lebanon, and also to the sheiks of the Druses, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp; I sent them at the same time a copy of Buonaparte's impious proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments, and I accompanied it by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian knight, and that of an unprincipled renegado. This letter had every effect that I could desire: they immediately sent me two ambassadors, professing not only friendship but obedience, assuring me that, in proof of the latter, they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers, as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Buonaparte's career further northward effectually stopped by a warlike people inhabiting an impenetrable country.

"General Kleber's division had been sent eastward,

towards the fords of the Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army. It was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as it had, by its firmness and the steady front it opposed in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of 10,000 men in check, during a whole day, in the plain between Nazareth and Mount Tabor, till Buonaparte came with his horse artillery and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry by which they were completely surrounded.

"The Turkish Chifflick regiment, having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the garden, made a fresh sally the next night; Soliman Aga, the lieutenant-colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment, by the punctual execution of the orders I had given him, to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel; and this he did most effectually; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the 2nd of the French, where they lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach according to Buonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to expend its time and its strength in recovering these works, in which it succeeded after a conflict of three hours, leaving everything *in statu quo*, except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides.

" After this failure, the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more, over the putrid

bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in former attacks by Buonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen and Turks could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle of action but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to obtain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to everybody else, that even if he succeeded in taking the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a short time. However, the knowledge, which the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa, rendered them desperate in their personal defence.

"Two attempts to assassinate me in the town having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law of honour and of war. A flag of truce was sent into the town, by the hands of an Arab dervise, with a letter to the pasha proposing a cessation of arms for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which was become intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us on both sides, many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection. It was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should, consequently, be off our guard during the conference; while the answer was under consideration a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, which, however, the garrison was ready to receive; and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of the dead bodies in question, to the eternal disgrace of the general who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of

the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from whence I sent him back to his general with a message which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof.

"Subordination was now at an end; and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put in execution in the night between the 20th and the 21st instant. I have above said, that the battering train of artillery (except the carriages which were burnt) is now in our hands, amounting to twenty-three pieces. The howitzers and medium 12-pounders originally conveyed by land with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise, together with the worst among the two thousand wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected: I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta before the French army could get so far as the former of these places.

"The enemy's vessels being hurried to sea without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered straight to his Majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity; in which they were not disappointed. I have sent them on to Damietta, where they will receive such further aid as their situation requires, and which it was out of my power to bestow on so many. Their expressions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the

name of their general, who had, as they said, thus exposed them to perish, rather than fairly and honourably to renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that I had intentionally exposed the former prisoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army be it said, this aspersion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author. The intention of it was evidently to do away the effect, which the proclamation of the Porte began to make on the soldiers, whose eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive the copies of it, when thrown from the breach. He cannot plead misinformation as his excuse, his aide-de-camp, M. Lallemand, having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre, when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home.

"It was evident to both sides, that when a general had recourse to such a shallow, and, at the same time, such a mean artifice as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end; and the defection in his army was consequently increased to the highest pitch. The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza is strewed with the dead bodies of those, who have sunk under fatigue, or the effect of slight wounds; such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gun-boats annoyed the van column of the retreating army, in its march along the beach, and the Arabs harassed its rear, when it turned inland

to avoid their fire. We observed the smoke of musketry behind the sand-hills, from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats, and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pasha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Buonaparte's preparation for retreat, having entered this town (Jaffa) by land, at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on it by sea, a stop was put to the massacre, and to the pillage already begun by the Nablusians. The English flag, re-hoisted on the consul's house, under which the Pasha met me, serves as an asylum for all religions, and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen, lying on the bodies of those whom they massacred two months ago, afford another proof of divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection, arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital; they are protected, and shall be taken care of.

"We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here, to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done, and Ismael Pasha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are just dispatched to harass the French rear, and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assemblage of sufficient force, and on exertions of which I am not absolutely master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders, who, in the face of a most formidable

enemy, have fortified a town that had not a single heavy gun mounted on the land side, and who have carried on all intercourse by boats, under a constant fire of musketry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations.

"This letter will be delivered to your lordship by *Lieutenant Canes, first of the Tigre*, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theseus, as captain, ever since the death of my much lamented friend and coadjutor, Captain Miller. I have taken Lieutenant England, first of that ship, to my assistance in the Tigre, by whose exertions and those of Lieutenant Summers and Mr. Atkinson, together with the bravery of the rest of the officers and men, that ship was saved, though on fire in five places at once, from a deposit of French shells bursting on board her. I have, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

In the midst of the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, when the French were pouring in their forces withdrawn from the depots of Cairo and Alexandria, it was deemed expedient to suggest to the government and council of Bombay, to supply a reinforcement of troops for Syria, by the way of the Red Sea. Now that the siege of Acre was raised, and the army of Buonaparte reduced by killed and wounded, and extensive sickness, to one half its number nearly, say, from sixteen to eight thousand men, Sir Sidney thought it right to send to Rear-Admiral Blanket, commanding in the Red Sea, a short *precis* of affairs at St. Jean d'Acre, up to the date of the preceding letter of the 30th May, of which the following is a copy.

"Tigre, St. Jean d'Acre, 16th May, 1799.

"SIR,

"Your letter of the 27th of February, from Judda, announcing your mission from the honourable governor and council of Bombay, reached me here. Buonaparte finding his popularity and resources diminish in Egypt, made an incursion into Syria, in hopes to make himself master of the treasures amassed by Djezzar Ahmet Pasha, and having taken Gaza and Jaffa, after a feeble resistance, advanced to this town, which he laid siege to, the 18th March last. The pasha having sent me notice of his approach, I hastened to this anchorage, and arrived before the French army, in time enough to put the place in some state of defence to resist Europeans. I was enabled to furnish Djezzar Pasha with heavy guns and ammunition, without dismantling the ships, having the good fortune to intercept Buonaparte's battering train of artillery on board his flotilla, from Alexandria and Damietta; the vessels of which to the number of eight sail, while they were a great loss to the enemy, afforded us the most effectual means of annoying them in their approaches. The town standing on a rectangular point of land in form of a square, of which two sides are washed by the sea, his majesty's ships could flank the two other sides, thus affording the protection of their guns to the garrison, and to the working parties detached from them, to throw up two ravelins, which, taking the enemy's nearest approaches in flank, have considerably impeded his operations.

"It will be endless to enter into the details of this most singular siege, suffice it to say, we have been within a stone's throw of each other for two months.

"The enemy very early made a lodgment in the crown of the glacis, and mined the tower, forming the inland angle of the town wall, which is composed of curtains and square towers, after the manner of the twelfth century. Buonaparte having transported cannon from Jaffa, effected a breach on the 14th day of the siege, attempted to storm and was repulsed, since which he has made no less than eleven desperate attempts to carry the place by assault, in each of which he has been unsuccessful, and obliged to retire with the loss of the flower of his army, and eight general officers killed and wounded. The army, totally dispirited and worn out with fatigue and disease, refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their companions—they were consequently paraded yesterday, and furnished with shoes and water gourds to enable them to cross the desert again. My emissaries in the French camp inform me, that Suez is mentioned there as the object of Buonaparte's speculations; though without any hopes of a disgusted, diminished, and exhausted army ever reaching it, at least in a state to act offensively. It is, however, my duty to notify this possible intention to you for your government. I am taking measures to cause an active and harassing pursuit. I trust to hear from you by all possible opportunities through Egypt as well as by way of Aleppo. I shall of course endeavour to keep you informed of what passes on this side of the isthmus. A formidable combination is made in Europe against France; the passage of the Russian troops through Austria, in their way to Italy, having given umbrage to the Directory, hostilities have commenced on the Rhine.

Official information has been received at Constantinople that Prince Charles has gained a complete victory over the French near Manheim, in which the last lost three generals and between 13 and 14,000 men. Corfu has surrendered to the Russian and Turkish forces combined. The other islands in the Adriatic surrendered long since. Brabant is in a state of complete insurrection against France, with a well appointed military in the field.

"Joppa, 30th May, 1799.

"I wrote you by way of Aleppo on the 16th instant. I am enabled to send this duplicate of my letter by the good offices of Ismael Pasha, of Jerusalem, whom I have the satisfaction of joining here in pursuit of Buonaparte's beaten and retreating army. He was obliged to raise the siege of Acre on the 20th; knowing his intentions as above mentioned, I preceded him in his march along the beach and harassed his van column as far as Gaza when it turned inland, but not unmolested by the Arabs. The pride of the vanquished *ci-devant* conqueror not allowing him to make the natural overtures in favour of his wounded, after having closed all intercourse by an insolent letter to me, for fear of the consequences of the general defection of his army, he carried these poor wretches to this place by land, when it being found impracticable to carry the worst of them further, they were embarked on board all the vessels that could be found, together with his 12 and 8-pounders, cannon and howitzers, which were found too heavy for land carriage in the sand. They were sent to sea to proceed to Damietta,

without water, provisions, or seamen to navigate them, which I must attribute to precipitation and want of arrangement rather than to anything else ; be this as it may, those who could move decided to steer steadily for us, in perfect confidence of our affording them the good offices of humanity, in which they were not disappointed. We are thus put in possession of the 12-pounders by which the first breach was made. As to the twenty-four, eighteen, and mortars which made the last, they lie scattered along the sand with the dead and the dying, the whole way between Acre and this place. The remnant of this mighty host is creeping towards the confines of Egypt in such a state, that if the grand army could have come with them, they would fall an easy prey. Buonaparte trusts to meeting reinforcements from Cairo, but I have, I hope, found occupation for the portion of the army found there, so that whatever part of his forces reaches Suez, it cannot be formidable to India. The Austrian and Russian armies have had signal success on the Rhine, and in Italy. Be pleased to forward a duplicate of this letter to Captain Wilson at Judda, for the information of the government of India. I address you as rear-admiral, the late promotion going to Sir John Warren.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Thus terminated the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, conducted by a numerous and well disciplined French army, under the command of a young general, skilful and unscrupulous, assisted by a numerous staff of the

best officers in that army ; yet defeated, driven away, and harassed by a young naval officer of the rank of captain, with no other troops than the seamen and marines of three British ships of war, and a body of Ottomans, brave enough but raw and undisciplined, the same who had sustained a siege of sixty days. To encourage and instruct such an army in discipline and obedience to command, Sir William Sidney Smith accomplished what he alone, perhaps, was qualified to do, in the space of three years ; by perseverance, activity, skilful management, invariable good humour, and above all, by a good heart ever open to the calls of humanity, whether required by friends or enemies,—for it is a notorious fact, that the relief he afforded to Frenchmen in distress, even when in open war against him, was fully equal, if not more extensive, than that required by his friends, the natives. Nor did he forget the Giver of all victory, as the following beautiful act of gratitude and humiliation will testify.

"Nazareth, 1799.

"I am just returned from the cave of the Annunciation, where, secretly and alone, I have been returning thanks to the Almighty for our late wonderful success.

"Well may we exclaim, 'the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.' "W. S. S."

"

For his glorious and triumphant success at Acre, he was sure to receive the highest approbation and affection of his countrymen at home, from the moment it was made known ; and it extended to all ranks, from the throne to the cottage. On the opening of parlia-

ment on the 24th September, 1799, in the house of lords, Sir Sidney Smith occupied a prominent part.

"HOUSE OF LORDS.

"About three o'clock on Tuesday, the 24th of September, 1799, His Majesty opened the session of parliament, with a long and energetic speech, in which the following compliment was made to the late exertions of Sir Sidney Smith.

"The French expedition to Egypt has continued to be productive of calamity and disgrace to our enemies, while its ultimate views against our eastern possessions have been utterly confounded. The desperate attempt which they have lately made to extricate themselves from their difficulties has been defeated by the courage of the Turkish forces, directed by the skill, and animated by the heroism of a British officer, with a small portion of my naval force under his command; and the overthrow of that restless and perfidious power, who, instigated by the artifices, and deluded by the promises, of the French, had entered into their ambitious and destructive projects in India, has placed the British interests in that quarter in a state of solid and permanent security.' His Majesty's sentiments were afterwards thus enlarged on in the house by the

"MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM — Yet this man, Buonaparte, who was called the conqueror and the hero, was defeated and frustrated in all his attempts. He was then sitting down before an inconsiderable and ill fortified town, which he regularly besieged with his army; and was afterwards seen to retreat, loaded with disgrace, and completely defeated by a handful of British

sailors, who on that occasion were converted into soldiers; and by the few Turks whom the presence of our small naval force, and the exertions of that able and gallant officer who commanded the expedition, inspired with a degree of courage, which otherwise they never would have displayed."

October 2nd, 1799.

"EARL SPENCER said he had now to take notice of an exploit which had never been surpassed, and scarcely ever been equalled in the annals of history—he meant the defence of St. Jean d'Acre, by Sir Sidney Smith. He had no occasion to impress upon their lordships a higher sense than they already entertained of the brilliancy, utility, and distinction of an achievement, in which a general of great celebrity, and a veteran victorious army, were, after a desperate and obstinate engagement, which lasted almost without intermission for sixty days, not only repulsed, but totally defeated, by the gallantry and heroism of this British officer, and the small number of troops under his command. He owned that it was not customary, nor did he think it had any precedent in the proceedings of parliament, that so high an honour should be conferred on long services, which might be performed by a force so inconsiderable in point of numbers; but the splendour of such an exploit, as defeating a veteran and well appointed army, commanded by experienced generals, and which already had overrun a great part of Europe, a fine portion of Africa, and attempted also the conquest of Asia, eclipsed all former examples, and should not be subjected to the rules of ordinary usage. He,

therefore, in full confidence of universal approbation, moved the thanks of the house to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, and the British seamen under his command, for their gallant and successful defence of St. Jean d'Acre, against the desperate attacks of the French army under the command of General Buonaparte.

"Lord Hood could not give a vote on the present occasion, without bearing his testimony to the skill and valour of Sir Sidney Smith, which had been so conspicuously and brilliantly exerted, when he had the honour and benefit of having him under his command. Had that officer been at the head of a more considerable force, there is every probability that not a Frenchman would have escaped. The nation must be sensible of the importance and benefits of the late achievement, and judging from his character and conduct, he made no doubt but even this was only an earnest of his future glory whenever an opportunity presented itself.

"Lord Grenville said, there never was a motion since he had a seat in that house to which he gave a more hearty concurrence and assent. The circumstance of so eminent a service having been performed, with so inconsiderable a force, was with him an additional reason for affording this testimony of public gratitude, and the highest honour that the house had in its power to confer. By this gallant and unprecedented resistance, we beheld the conqueror of Italy, the future Alexander, not only defeated and driven from the situation at which he had arrived, but also obliged to retreat in disorder and confusion, to parts where it was not likely that he would find a shelter

from the pursuit of British skill and intrepidity. How glorious must the whole appear when they looked to the contrast between the victor and vanquished. Buonaparte's progress, throughout the whole of his military career, was marked with every trait of cruelty and treachery. In defiance of every principle of humanity and of all the acknowledged rules of war, Sir Sidney Smith had been long, with the most cool and cruel inflexibility, confined in a dungeon of the Temple, from which he was only rescued by his own address and intrepidity. But the French, by making him an exception from the general usages of war, had only manifested their sense of his value, and how much they were afraid of him. This hero, in the progress of events, was afterwards destined to oppose the enemy in a distant quarter, and instead of indulging any sentiments of revenge or resentment against his former persecutors, indulged the natural feelings of his heart by interfering for, and saving the lives of, a number of French prisoners soon after this, when victorious in an obstinate contest, where he was but indifferently supported by the discipline of the native troops, or means of defence in the fortifications of the fortress, he generously and humanely lent his protecting aid to a body of miserable and wounded Frenchmen, who implored his assistance, when the cruelty and obstinacy of their own general had devoted them to almost inevitable destruction."

"The motion was then agreed to, *nem. dis.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *September* 16*th*, 1799.

"MR. DUNDAS, in moving the thanks of the house to

Admiral Mitchell and Sir Sidney Smith, thus alluded to the exertions of the latter officer.

"A twelvemonth had not elapsed since this country felt some apprehension on account of the probable destination of the French army in Egypt, an apprehension that was much allayed by the memorable and most glorious victory of Lord Nelson. The power of that army had been still much further reduced by the efforts of Sir Sidney Smith, who, with a handful of men, surprised a whole nation, who were his spectators, with the brilliancy of his triumph, contesting for sixty days with an enterprizing and intrepid general at the head of his whole army. This conduct of Sir Sidney Smith was so surprising to him, he said, that he hardly knew how to speak of it; he had not recovered from the astonishment which the account of the action had thrown him into. He had looked at it over and over again, and no view he had been enabled to take of it had quite recovered him from the surprise and amazement which the account of the matter gave him. However, so it was, and the merit of Sir Sidney Smith was now the object of consideration, to praise or esteem which too highly was quite impossible. He had heard that Sir Sidney Smith who had his difficulties, had sometimes been lightly spoken of by some persons; whoever they were, they were inconsiderate, and they might be left now to their inward shame, if they did not recant; be that as it might, the house, he was confident, agreed with him, that the conduct of Sir Sidney Smith for heroism, and intrepidity, and active exertion, was never surpassed on any occasion. He was glad of the opportunity he had to say this. He then moved

that the thanks of the house be given to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, for the conspicuous skill and heroism by which, with a few seamen under his command, he animated the Turkish troops against the formidable and desperate attack of the French army, under the command of General Buonaparte.—Passed *nem. con.*

On moving the Address of Thanks, Tuesday, 24th September, 1799,

Mr. Shawe Lefevre rose, and addressed the House to the following effect:—"Sir, I rise for the purpose of moving an address of thanks to his majesty, in answer to his most gracious speech which you have just now read. Sensible as I am how inadequate the weak powers I possess are to the subject, and how unequal to the task of even doing justice to the feelings by which I am impressed; I yet feel no slight degree of satisfaction in the consciousness that exploits, so glorious as those referred to in his majesty's speech, need no eulogy to enhance their value, no panegyric to increase their importance. Exploits, sir, such as they are, carry with them their own eulogy, in language more forcible and energetic than any in my power to use. Among so many topics of just exultation, it is difficult to select those which are more immediately entitled to our applause and admiration. To the gallant efforts of our allies, to the steady courage and unwearied perseverance of the Archduke Charles, and to the loyalty and valour of the people of Naples, seconded by the assistance of his majesty's arms, can I alone ascribe the concurrence of those fortunate events,

by which Italy has shaken off the yoke of foreign despotism; but those events, great as they must appear to whoever contemplates them, are yet infinitely surpassed by those series of unparalleled and important victories, which have crowned our arms in another and more remote quarter of the globe. I mean, sir, those victories which led the way to the final defeat of Tippoo, to the taking of his capital, Seringapatam; and to the final destruction of that formidable and restless foe, which, allured by the promises of France, had already confederated with the government of that country for the total extirpation of our commerce and prosperity in the east. Happily those victories are exclusively our own; the direction of those plans and that well-combined system which prepared the way for them, are completely our own;—the praise is no where due but to the governor-general and our brave troops. But our successes are not confined to that quarter alone, the gallant services of a distinguished and able naval officer, who has not only resisted, but ultimately discomfited, the whole flower of the French army, an army too accustomed to victory, are services never to be mentioned without exultation.

"The thanks of this House to be given to Sir Sidney Smith, who, with a handful of his countrymen, stimulated and encouraged the Turkish forces to a successful resistance against the French, in their late attempt upon Jean d'Acre, on the coast of Syria.

"And I move also,—

"That the thanks of this House be given to the officers, seamen, and marines under his command."

On the 2nd of October, when the House of Lords met to pay a just tribute to its gallant naval defenders,

"Lord SPENCER said he was now come to an achievement which, for brilliancy, difficulty, and utility, stood unprecedented. The achievement to which he alluded was, the service lately performed by Sir Sidney Smith on the coast of Syria. Perfectly aware of his inability to describe it, he would leave it to speak for itself, conscious that their lordships, who knew its effects, would appreciate them according to their value. He must, however, observe, that the merit of all actions depended on the means for effecting them. In no case were they ever so disproportionate; the means of Sir Sidney Smith were very small, while the service performed was of the greatest magnitude. St. Jean d'Acre, the theatre of this brilliant scene, was not a regular fortress. The garrison was dispirited by the renown of the enemy, and unacquainted with the mode of defence; and yet, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, by the energy and intrepidity of that gallant officer, the French army, which had conquered a great part of Europe, over-run the east of Africa, and made a considerable impression on Asia, was arrested in its progress for two months, and afterwards forced to retreat in a disgraceful manner. It was unusual, he allowed, to vote the thanks of the House to so small a force as that employed in the service alluded to; but he was convinced that all would approve of a departure from such a rule, in a case of such extraordinary merit. His lordship concluded with moving,

"That the thanks of the House be given to Captain

Sir Sidney Smith for his gallant service in the successful defence of St. Jean d'Acre, and the repulse of the French army from that fortress.

"Lord HOOD seconded the motion, in a short speech, in which he bore testimony to the ability and undaunted spirit of the gallant officer alluded to, whose services he experienced at Toulon; and expressed his assured hope, that the present achievement, however great and wonderful, would prove only an earnest of his future attainments.

"Lord GRENVILLE said, no vote was ever proposed in that House, that more cordially met his approbation. The smallness of the force, so far from being an objection, in his mind, called for it the more loudly, as the merit of the officer was therefore the greater. He would not now detain the House by entering into particulars; but the two parties concerned afforded such a striking contrast, that he could not pass it over unnoticed. On the one side, the conqueror of Italy, the future Alexander, obliged to surrender the conquest of the east, and betake himself to a disgraceful retreat, in which he was not likely to find any shelter from the pursuit of British skill and intrepidity. On the other side, he called their lordships' attention to Sir Sidney Smith, an officer so lately suffering a cruel captivity in France, contrary to the established rules of war, which were grossly violated in his person; a captivity as disgraceful to the enemy as honourable to the sufferer, because it amounted to an acknowledgment of his ability, and their fear of it. This same officer, thus cruelly treated, effecting his escape by his own address, the wheel of fortune turning round, and placing him

triumphant over the proudest of his enemies; but, instead of making his unparalleled success subservient to the purpose of revenge, holding out a saving hand, even to those of his foes, whom their own boasted commander had consigned to disease and death. Such was the contrast these two characters afforded; a contrast to us the greatest glory, and to France the greatest disgrace.

"The resolution was then put and agreed to, *nem. dis.*

"Lord SPENCER then expressed himself satisfied that, however great the reward conferred on the officer to whom the thanks of the House was now voted, he would consider it incomplete, were those, who shared with him in this glorious service, to pass unnoticed. He therefore moved, 'the thanks of the House to the captains and officers, and also the sailors and marines serving under him;' which resolution was also agreed to, *nem. dis.*"

The following letter and resolutions were addressed to Sir Sidney Smith, by the Right Honourable Henry Addington.

"Palace-yard, September 27th, 1799.

"SIR,

"To a mind like your's no reward can be so gratifying as the approbation of the country which you have served with a display of talents and of heroism which has never been surpassed at any period of its history. It is by the enclosed resolutions that such a satisfaction will be afforded to you, and to the brave officers, seamen, and marines, who had the honour to

serve under your command on the coast of Syria; and I can truly assure you and them, that I think myself most happy in having it in charge to communicate this fresh proof, that ample justice cannot fail to be rendered by the Commons of Great Britain, to those whose abilities and exertions have been zealously devoted to the service of their country.

"I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and faithful, humble servant,

"HENRY ADDINGTON."

"Jovis, 26° die Septembris, 1799.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, for the conspicuous skill and heroism by which he animated and directed the efforts of the Turkish forces, and of the small number of British officers and seamen under his command, in their long and successful defence of St. Jean d'Acre, on the coast of Syria, against the formidable and desperate attack of the French army, under the command of General Buonaparte.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to the officers belonging to the ships under the command of Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, for the great bravery and unremitted exertions which they manifested both on shore and on board the ships, in the successful defence of St. Jean d'Acre, on the coast of Syria, against the formidable and desperate attack of the French army, under the command of General Buonaparte; and that Sir William Sidney Smith do signify the same to them.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this house doth highly approve of and acknowledge the services of the seamen and marines belonging to the ships under the command of Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, in the glorious defence of St. Jean d'Acre, &c.; and that Sir William Sidney Smith do signify the same to the crews of the respective ships, and do thank them for their good behaviour.

"Ordered, That Mr. Speaker do signify the said resolutions to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith.

"J. Ley, A. D. Dom. Com."

TO SIR W. SIDNEY SMITH.

"Mansion-house, 12th October, 1799.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to transmit to you resolutions unanimously passed by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, and I have to request you will communicate the same to the British officers and seamen and troops under your command, in the defence of St. Jean d'Acre.

"I feel, sir, much gratified in the opportunity now afforded me, of conveying to you this sincere mark of approbation and gratitude, from the citizens of London, for I am as deeply impressed as they are, with the sense of the high obligation this country is under to you, for the display of valour and signal services you have achieved against the French army, under General Buonaparte.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem, your faithful and obedient servant,

"Richard Carr Glyn, Mayor."

TO SIR W. SIDNEY SMITH.

Resolutions of the Levant Company.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to communicate to you, at the desire of the members of the Levant company, the enclosed copy of the company's resolutions of thanks for the gallant and unexampled exertions made by you and the officers and seamen under your command in defence of the ancient town of St. Jean d'Acre.

"I am happy in the opportunity of expressing my admiration of your zeal in a cause, with which the interests of the company are so intimately connected, of your skill in baffling the efforts of an enterprising and experienced general, and of your courage which, though ever undaunted, seems on this glorious occasion to have displayed an energy in proportion to the number and perseverance of the enemy. May you continue the noble career you have so happily begun, and prove the means of exterminating that desolating army, which appears to have been deserted by its chief.

"I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect and regard, your most devoted and most humble servant,

"S. BOSANQUET.

"Deputy Governor of the Levant Company."

"Resolved unanimously—That the thanks of this court be presented to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, of his majesty's navy, knight of the royal Swedish order of the Sword, for his gallant and unex-

ampled defence of St. Jean d'Acre, whose consummate military skill and temperate judgment, were no less conspicuous than the ardent heroism, which so successfully animated the inconsiderable force under his command, to repel the desperate and reiterated attacks of the enemy, during a siege of sixty days; an enemy formidable by their numbers and discipline, and led by their general Buonaparte in person, confidently anticipating the subversion of the Turkish empire with the destruction of the British commerce in the Levant, but who, arrested in his daring career, and vanquished by the transcendent efforts of British valour, was forced to a precipitate retreat, under circumstances as degrading as they were calamitous.

"Resolved—That the thanks of this court be also given to the gallant British officers, seamen, and marines, who so gloriously and successfully fought under Sir Sidney Smith at St. Jean d'Acre, and that Sir Sidney be requested to communicate this resolution to them in the name of the Levant company.

"Resolved—That a piece of plate with a suitable inscription be presented to Sir Sidney Smith, and that he be requested also to accept of the freedom of the company, as an acknowledgment of the high sense this company entertains of the important advantages derived to the British commerce in the Levant, and the opportune and extraordinary successes obtained under his command on the coast of Syria.

"Resolved—That the same committee appointed for conveying the thanks of the company to Lord Nelson, together with Sir John Cox Hippesley, Bart., be named a committee to carry into effect the preceding resolu-

tions, who are requested to wait on Sir Sidney Smith on his arrival in England, to communicate them to him in person.

(A True Copy) "THOS. BROWNE,
"Secretary."

These national and municipal honours, so highly earned by the skill and bravery of Sir Sidney Smith, were unequivocal manifestations of public gratitude; but they did not stop here. His majesty signified his desire might be conveyed to the house of commons, that a pension of one thousand pounds a year should be settled upon him for life.

On the 16th of February, 1801, a message from his majesty to the house of commons.

"His majesty being desirous of conferring some signal mark of his royal approbation upon Sir Sidney Smith, in consideration of his eminent services, and the valour and abilities he has displayed in various important operations against the enemy on the coast of Egypt, and particularly for his gallant defence of Acre, recommends to the house of commons, to make provision for securing the sum of one thousand pounds per annum, for the term of his natural life."

Nor had the grand signior been deficient in grateful acknowledgment of the services he had rendered for the safety of his throne. Two rich pelises and two aigrettes were sent from Constantinople, one of each to be presented to Lord Nelson, and the same to Sir Sidney Smith, and they were accompanied with the *chalingk* or plume of triumph, hitherto exclusively reserved, (so Mr. Spencer Smith says,) for conquerors

of their own race; it is a diamond star placed in the centre of the crescent; it is considered as the badge of knighthood, and being such, it was suggested that it should be called the Order of the Crescent.

Lord Nelson applied to Sir Isaac Heard, to know how he was to wear his honours. "As the aigrettes given to me and Sir Sidney Smith are woven, I must beg you will turn in your mind how I am to wear it when I first go to the king; and as the aigrette is directed to be worn, where am I to put it? In my hat, having but one arm, is impossible, as I must have my hand at liberty; therefore, I think, on my outward garment; I shall have much pleasure in putting myself into your management, and believe me, &c.

"BRONTE NELSON."

The martial muse has not yet been very prolific, as far as I know. The two following extracts are all at least that have fallen under my eye.

(Extract from Reginald Heber's "Palestine.")

When he from towery Malta's yielding isle,
And the green waters of reluctant Nile—
Th' apostate chief—from Misraim's shore
To Acre's walls his trophial banners bore;
When the pale desert mark'd his proud array,
And desolation hoped an ampler sway;
What hero then triumphant Gaul dismayed?
What arm repell'd the victor renegade?
" Britannia's champion!—Bathed in hostile blood,
High on the beach the dauntless SEAMAN stood:
Admiring Asia saw the unequal fight,—
E'en the pale crescent bless'd the Christian's might.
Oh, day of death! Oh, thirst beyond control
Of crimson conquest in the invader's soul!
The slain, yet warm, by social footsteps trod,
O'er the red moat supplied a panting road;

O'er the red moat our conquering thunders flew,
And loftier still the grisly vampire grew ;
While proudly glow'd above the rescued tower
The wavy cross that mark'd Britannia's power.

Reginald Heber could have done, on such a subject, something better than this.

(Extract from an " Epode on the Siege of Acre," by Mr. Bowles.)

Shall Acre's feeble citadel,
Victor, thy shattered hosts repel ?
Insulting chief, despair—
A Briton meets thee there !
See, beneath the burning wall
In reeking heaps the assailants fall !
Now the hostile fires decline,
Now through the smoke's deep volumes shine !
Now above the bastions gray
The clouds of battle roll away;
Where, with calm yet glowing mien,
Britain's victorious youth is seen :
He lifts his eye,
His country's ensigns wave through smoke on high,
Whilst the long-mingled shout is heard—
" They fly, they fly ! "

The following letter is preparatory to the reception of the force, which government had at length determined to send for the purpose of expelling the French from Egypt.

LORD KEITH TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

" Foudroyant, Gibraltar Bay, October 24th, 1800.

" SIR,

" His majesty's government have been pleased to direct a great force to be employed, in attempting the expulsion of the French from Egypt, and I lose no time in dispatching a vessel to you with a communication of that

intention. Little time, I hope, will be lost in leading it to its destination; and I shall direct my course towards Rhodes as your central rendezvous, in order that I may be in the way of having the quickest possible communication with you. In the mean time, it will be necessary that you devote your attention to the following important considerations; and be prepared, on my approach, to give every necessary facility for the attainment of the various objects which they embrace.

"The first considerations will be a place of rendezvous, where a fleet of at least eighty or ninety sail can be protected in all winds; where they can be defended in the event of the arrival of a superior naval force of the enemy; where they can be amply supplied with good water, fresh provisions, vegetables and fruits (which the long continuance of the troops on board the ships will render indispensable); where no contagion is known to prevail; from whence the expedition can be led with facility to the point determined on for descent; and where pilots and small craft can be easily obtained. It must be confessed that, it is not very probable any one place will present all these advantages; but that which provides for the greatest and most important part of them, will claim a preference; and perhaps contiguous situations may afford the supplies which the other denies.

"It will next be requisite to station the force which you have under your orders, and that of the Turks co-operating with you, in such positions as may enable them to continue to check the enemies' supplies and communications, support an intercourse with the Turk-

ish army, and any of his majesty's officers acting with them; and at the same time, enable the officer commanding them to act with the expedition when it arrives, or threaten some particular point for the purpose of attracting the enemy's attention, if any advantage is likely to be thereby obtained.

"The point of descent is a consideration of momentous weight, and merits the most devoted attention: and although it is recommended to be in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, I desire that you will be prepared to furnish me with the best information, that can possibly be obtained, on this important subject; in order that, on due deliberation after our arrival, that spot may be fixed upon, which seems best calculated for the promotion of the object in view.

"The long experience which you have had, the local information which you have acquired, and the etxensive knowledge which you must possess of the nature of the country, the coast, the climate, as well as of the character and disposition of the people with whom we are to deal, lead me to rely with the greatest confidence on our profiting by your communications: and I have no doubt that you will use every exertion for preparing yourself to satisfy us, on every point necessary for the prosecution and attainment of an object, so very interesting to the prosperity and security of his majesty's foreign possessions. I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant, "KEITH."

The following letter is not addressed, nor has it any signature, but it is a very able and important one, and is supposed to be written by Sir Sidney's secretary

Mr. Keith, and meant to be addressed to General Edward Smith, the uncle of Sir Sidney.

"Tigre, Bay of Marmorice, January 30th, 1801.

"SIR,

"Finding from your letters to your nephews, that my narratives, &c., have proved interesting to you, I take the liberty to send you, partly herewith and partly through Mr. Smith, the results of my share of the preparatory measures. They are very detailed, perhaps too much so, but your penetration will enable you to select the important parts, which will, I hope, put you sufficiently *au courant* of the present state of affairs here.

"According to the best information obtained at the Ottoman camp at Jaffa, grounded upon the reports and statements of the Egyptian Beys there, it would appear that the active force of the French in Egypt, consists of 10,000 infantry, 1,800 cavalry, and 1,000 dromedaries, in all 12,800 Frenchmen, and 1,000 infantry, (Greeks) commanded by Nicolo and Giovanni, and 200 horsemen, commanded by the noted Bartholomeo, making the total force of the colony to be 14,000 men, in December, 1800. While the French had to act against the Osmanlis (Turks) alone, their auxiliaries amounted to five or 6,000 Greeks and Copts; but when the Kiaza Bey was finally expelled from Cairo, Kleber withdrew the arms and ammunition from his auxiliary friends. It is not to be supposed that Menou, who is naturally *méfiant*, will be less watchful over them than his predecessor was, particularly now that he will have a British army instead of the abhorred Osmanlis to

contend with ; and such is the nature of those Greeks and Copts, that the smallest mistrust shewn them, and which they are cunning enough to discern, will make them his most inveterate enemies. Besides all the Greeks, Copts and Syrians (excepting the three above mentioned *affidés*) are deeply interested in the speedy reestablishment of the trade, and they well know that that desirable object cannot be attained without the concurrence of the British; and I invariably told them we should ever oppose it as long as a Frenchman remained in Egypt. I therefore conclude that, if the British army acts by itself against the French in Egypt, *their auxiliary force will be sent against us though they will always be ready to act against the Osmanlis.* As to Mourad Bey, all those who are acquainted with the character of a Mamaluk and their followers, will never doubt of his most hearty cooperation in every measure tending to rid Egypt of its invaders, particularly if ordinary confidence is shewn to him and timely advice is given to him by the commanders-in-chief. I had the strongest assurances given me to that effect by H. E. Ibrahim Bey, when I took leave of him on the 12th ult. If Mourad Bey should side with us, he could bring 2,000 Mamaluks into the field, while that powerful diversion in our favour would insure us another four or 5,000 Arabs; which combined force would require, as in Desaix's time, about 3,000 French to overawe them, and placed at least ten or twelve days march from the coast.

"In the event of a descent upon the coast by the British, Menou could not leave less than 2,000 men to garrison Cairo, Boulai, Rodda, and Giza. This number will be found to be of *absolute* necessity, when it is

considered that the chief depôts of the enemy are concentrated in those places. Although Menou has but little to dread from the motions of the grand vizir, owing to the nullity of the Turkish army, yet he cannot leave less than 2,000 men to keep up his communications with Belbeys, Suez, Selahia, Damietta, &c., the two latter places being dependent on each other for their mutual defence.

"There would, therefore, only remain about 6,000 men to defend the western triangle, formed by the three points of Alexandria, Rosetta and Rahmania, out of which Menou could barely form a corps of reserve or observation of four or 5,000 men to oppose our landing in that quarter.

"As their well disciplined and well mounted cavalry will give them an advantage over us in landing, the spot fixed upon for that operation should be such, as to preclude them as much as possible from availing themselves of that only superiority.

"Now, from our knowledge of the coast, I should look upon the peninsula of Aboukir as offering the best ground for a descent, there being a clear beach and sand hills close to it, and there being besides fresh water to be had by digging for it, an object of the highest importance.

"Having obtained a footing on shore, the army ought to march immediately to Birket, where there are wells of fresh water. This position is three hours' march from Aboukir, and two from the Rosetta gate of Alexandria; it is situated near the lake of Madia and the canal of Alexandria, and while it opens our free communication with the Beherian Arabs, who could

furnish us with supplies in sheep and buffaloes, as well as with horses and camels, it covers Alexandria by cutting off the communication between that post and Rahmania, the only way by which supplies or reinforcements could be sent. It was by encamping at this spot, and placing a detachment of observation at Gytas or Gitana, at four hours' distance on the road to Demanhour, that Buonaparte prevented the junction of Turks and Mamaluks in July, 1799. It has also the great advantage of being nearly accessible by boats on the Maida, provided their draught of water does not exceed two feet or thirty inches. I do not know the exact number of our forces that are to be employed against Menou's army, but to judge from the very high order of several regiments I have seen imported here, and particularly when I compare them to the wretches Sir Sidney has had to lead hitherto, with which, however, he made two descents, and that at periods when the enemy were more numerous than they now are, I cannot but indulge myself with the pleasing idea that we shall succeed, provided no time is lost, and that the decisive blow is given before the middle of February when the fatal *khamsin* wind sets in and continues till May.

"Sir Sidney has given every sort of information about the country, climate, and the different *nuances* of beings the army will have to do with. I am proud to tell you that the most distinguished attention has been paid to him by all the general officers, and you may depend that unanimity will preside wherever he acts. General Moore and he are to lead the reserve of soldiers and seamen, and as they possess universal con-

fidence, I hope and trust the expedition will be crowned with success.

"When the business will be over, it will be highly expedient for Sir Sidney to go home; his health has been much impaired from the successive shocks given it by the affairs of Egypt; his mother's death, aggravated by the galling treatment inflicted upon his brother, whom he loves, and whose too evident and reiterated grievances his manly and upright heart cannot but feel like a brother and a friend: besides, his presence is more than necessary to throw some light on the affairs of this quarter, which government does not seem to understand at all. Although I am as sick of them, as it is possible for one to be, I should be sorry to see so many men and so much money sacrificed so wantonly; I am equally concerned to find that most of our public agents are by no means equal to the present state of affairs; they follow their old *routine*, which will now be quite out of season with respect to Egypt; and as my constitution is equal to hold out for some years more in this climate, I am resolved, in case the French are expelled from Egypt, to fix my residence at Cairo or Alexandria, according to circumstances, and perhaps form a mercantile establishment at the latter place, under the auspices of my friends the Lees, of Smyrna.

"Mr. Baldwin, the consul-general, is come up with Lord Keith, he says, by express orders from government; but he does not intend to reside long in Egypt. That may be as it will, I shall steer clear of him, because we differ widely in opinion with respect to the affairs of this country in general, which he views in

the same point of view, as *five years ago*, while I see them as they *now are*."

The disembarkation of the troops, cannon, artillery, &c., was accomplished in the most masterly manner in Aboukir Bay, under the direction of Sir Sidney Smith, who writes, as under, to Lord Keith.

"British Camp, on the Heights, 3 miles from Alexandria, March 14th, 1801.

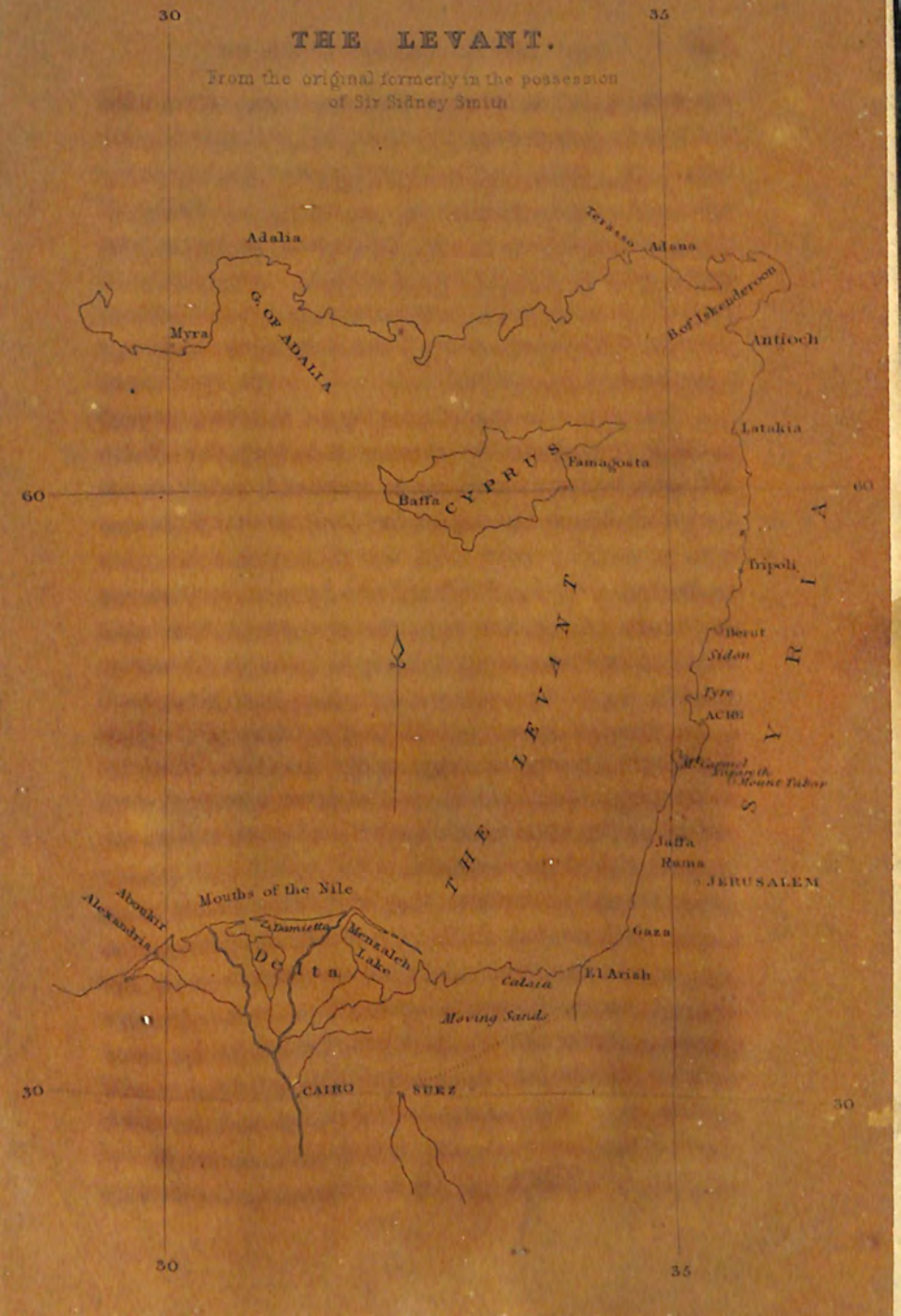
"My Lord,

"It would be superfluous for me to relate to your lordship the admirable manner in which the officers and men, you appointed me to command, went into action with me, on the day of the disembarkation, as you were yourself a witness of the gallant and judicious conduct of Captains Maitland and Stewart, in covering the flanks of the line with the armed launches; and must, as well as myself, have admired the bravery, activity, and perseverance of Captains Ribouleau, Guion, Saville, Burn, and Hillier, together with that of the officers and seamen under their orders; by whose unparalleled exertions the cannon were disembarked, at the same moment with the troops, and moved forward with them in action.

"If I were to say anything particular, in praise of Lieutenants Prevost, Hillier, Campbell, and Fisher, who were nearest me, and conducted themselves to my entire satisfaction, it would be injustice to Lieutenants Cameron, Davis, and Stoddart, who, though hidden from my view by the intervening sand hills, must have been equally well, and as successfully, employed in other parts of the line, the result having been so completely satisfactory to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, as to induce him

THE LEVANT.

From the original formerly in the possession of Sir Sidney Smith



to extend the most unequivocal praise to the whole of the naval officers and men, as well afloat as on shore; saying, that without our exertions he could not have brought his brave troops into action as he did. The determined courage of this gallant army, in the close contest they had to maintain with the enemy on the beach, at the critical time of forming, secured the victory to us on that day; and it is with heartfelt satisfaction that I have now to congratulate your lordship on the brilliant success of the army yesterday. If we admired their cool orderly conduct, and determined bravery on the 8th, how much more must we be struck with those characteristic qualities, in the superior degree wherein they were displayed on this occasion; the troops marched into battle, and forced the enemy's strong position on the heights, between the head of the lake Mahadie and the sea, with the same regularity and ease that exercise, on an ordinary field-day, is performed, in spite of an opposition, which is reckoned more strenuous than any the troops have met with before from the enemy in other countries. It would not become me to attempt describing the manœuvres by which this victory was obtained; it is incumbent on me, however, to make known to your lordship, that the commander-in-chief has again been pleased to express his approbation of the exertions of the seamen and their officers; and I am happy in being able to testify, that their conduct was, if possible, more praise-worthy than on the day of disembarkation; the labours they had to go through were considerably greater, and the fire they had to undergo in the passive employment of dragging up cannon for more able gunners to fire, was

much more heavy and of longer duration. It is impossible to distinguish any particular officer, where all behaved equally well, each doing his utmost to keep the guns up with the line, which was, of course, difficult in sandy, uneven ground, when the troops pressed forward in their eager approach to, and ardent pursuit of, the enemy. The great anxiety and laudable efforts of Lieutenants Fisher and Davies with petty officers and men, at the Swiftsure's and Northumberland's field pieces, at a most trying moment, enabled them to recover their station in the line, which they had lost only by the impossibility of keeping up with the troops; such service, under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, could not be performed without loss; that of the Tigre's men has been the greatest, but Lieutenant Hillier informs me that the remainder redoubled their exertions, and brought their guns on most opportunely, at the moment the 90th repulsed a charge of cavalry.

"Captain Ribouleau, the senior commander, exerted himself in a most praise-worthy manner, along the whole line on shore, together with Captains Guion, Saville, and Burn, each in his divison; Captain Hillier kept the enemy in check on the left, by the occasional fire of the armed flat-boats on the lake, and the troops on that flank seem sensible of their utility in preventing the enemy's numerous cavalry from attempting to turn them, where the Isthmus widens into a plain. Lieutenant Woodhouse, of the Foudroyant (a volunteer on the ground), very handsomely offered his services to supply the place of Lieutenant Wright, who was actively employed near Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and

undertook to convey my orders along the line on foot, which was particularly acceptable and useful, at a time when my orderly dragoon was wounded, and both our horses disabled by a discharge of grape ; I have to request your lordship to excuse his delay in returning to his duty on board, as I undertook to justify his stay in the field.

"We are now on the heights at the head of the lake Mahadie, with our left to the canal of Alexandria, and our right to the sea. The enemy occupy a very strong position on the ridge immediately between us and the Rosetta gate of Alexandria. I have made an excursion, with a few dragoons, on the road to Demanhour, to open an intercourse with the Arabs; I find them friendly, and the markets begin to be supplied. We are all much indebted to Captain Cochrane and the officers under him, for the ample supplies of ammunition and provisions which he has forwarded to the army by the lake ; the boats' crews of the whole fleet have been indefatigable in this important service. Eleven French boats, seized on the enemy's right, by Lieutenant Wright, have been likewise employed therein, under Captain Hillier, and also in conveying the wounded, both English and French, to the hospital; so that none remained the night on the field of battle. The commander-in-chief expressed himself very grateful to the navy for their humane exertions on this occasion, and I am happy in observing, that both services seem sensible of the support they mutally give each other in the operations, so that the utmost harmony prevails. "I have, &c.,

(Signed) "W. Sidney Smith."

An extract of a letter from General Sir Ralph Abercrombie to the Right Hon. Lord, Hobart, dated, "Camp before Alexandria, March 16th, 1801.

"On the 8th, the arrangements made by Lord Keith were such as to enable us to land at once a body of 6000 men.

"The Honourable Captain Cochrane, and those other captains and officers of the royal navy, who were entrusted with the disembarkation, not only of the troops, but of the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and stores of all kinds, have exerted themselves in such a manner as to claim the warmest acknowledgments of the whole army.

"Sir Sidney Smith and the other captains and officers of the navy under his command, who landed with the army, have been indefatigable in their exertions in forwarding the service on which they are employed."

Extract of a letter from Admiral Lord Keith, K.B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated, "Foudroyant, Bay of Aboukir, 10*th March,* 1801.

"The fire of the enemy was successively opened from their mortars and field-pieces, as the boats got within their reach; and as they approached to the shore, the excessive discharge of grape-shot and of musketry from behind the sand-hills, seemed to threaten them with destruction, while the castle of Aboukir on the right-flank maintained a constant and harassing discharge of large shot and shells, but the ardour of

our officers and men was not to be damped. No moment of hesitation intervened. The beach was arrived at, a footing obtained, the troops advanced, and the enemy forced to relinquish all the advantageous positions which they had held. The boats returned without delay for the second division; and before the evening the whole army, with few exceptions, was landed, with such articles of provisions and stores as required the most immediate attention.

"I refer to the general's report for the loss sustained by the army in this dangerous and difficult service. I enclose the casualties of the squadron and transports, and feel much satisfaction in conveying to their lordships my full testimony to the merits of all the officers and men employed under my orders on this arduous occasion. I have the honour to be, &c. "KEITH."

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD KEITH.

"Camp at the head of Lake Mahadie, March 16th, 1801.

"MY LORD,

"I have received information that the enemy is assembling the whole force he has in Egypt to give our army battle in its present position; and as the ground both admits and requires the wings or flanks being supported by gun-boats and small armed vessels on the sea-side, and by the armed flat-boats and launches on the lake, I earnestly request they may be allowed to take the stations I have indicated to Captains Maitland and Hillier for them to occupy in support of the army, whether in defence or attack; I will continue to send the flat-boats from time to time as they can be spared,

or may be wanted to bring stores up from the *depôt* at the Ferry, carefully keeping in view the two objects of procuring the necessary supplies, and securing our advantages. I have the honour to be, my lord,

" Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) " W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Extract of a letter from Sir Ralph Abercrombie to the Earl of Elgin, dated, " Camp before Alexandria, 16th March 1801.

" MY LORD,

" On the first instant the fleet arrived in sight of Alexandria; on the 2nd, anchored in Aboukir bay; the weather did not permit any debarkation before the 8th; on that day it was happily effected, under the most trying circumstances. The boats had near a mile to row, and were for some time under the fire of fifteen pieces of artillery, and the musketry of 2500 men; still the intrepidity of the troops overcame every difficulty. We took eight pieces of cannon."

Extract of a letter from the Earl of Elgin to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, dated, " Constantinople, April 4, 1801.

" As Colonel Anstruther's letter to me, which accompanied that to Colonel Brownrigg, was written on the 16th of March, I take the liberty of adding to your Royal Highness, that Menou having, with 2000 cavalry, joined the corps at Alexandria, attacked Sir Ralph Abercrombie on the 21st. The assault was vigo-

rous; but the enemy were entirely repulsed with great loss, not, however, before Sir Ralph Abercrombie, General Moore, General Hope, and Sir Sidney Smith had been wounded slightly, and Colonel Abercrombie had lost a limb. Colonel Paget appears to have had a slight wound."

Extract of a letter from Colonel Anstruther to Colonel Brownrigg, dated, "Camp near Alexandria, 16th March, 1801.

"Nothing, I believe, ever exceeded the boldness and perseverance, with which the boats continued to approach the shore, under a shower of bullets, shells and grape. Every discharge was answered by a shout from the seamen, and all seemed totally insensible of danger. The reserve on the right formed as if on the parade, and in a moment carried a height nearly equal to, and very like to, that of Camperdown. The left were charged by the cavalry the moment they got out of the boats."

Extract of a letter from Admiral Lord Keith to Evan Nepean, Esq., dated, "On board his Majesty's ship Foudroyant, in the Bay of Aboukir, 1st April, 1801.

"SIR,

"I have very great concern in acquainting you, that, in a desperate attack made upon our lines by the French army on the morning of the 21st ultimo, my gallant and respectable comrade, General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, unfortunately received a wound, of which

he died on board this ship on the 28th. It is unnecessary to say how much this calamity has been regretted by the army and by the fleet. Their lordships will observe, that the enemy were repulsed with very great loss. I enclose, for their information, a copy of Sir Sidney Smith's report of that sustained by the detachment of seamen serving under his orders; and have the pleasure of adding, that his own wound has not been so material as to deprive me of his services. The marines were not engaged, having been, previously to the action, appointed to the duty of Aboukir Castle and its vicinity. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "KEITH."

Sir Sidney must be allowed to give his own account of the battle, than whom no one is better qualified to draw up so clear, distinct, and interesting an account as that contained in the following letter to Lord Keith, dated, "Camp, 22nd March," the day after the battle:

"MY LORD,

"The menaced attack of our whole line, as announced by the friendly Arab, whose letter I transmitted to the commander-in-chief, and to your lordship, took place just before day-light yesterday morning. The army was under arms to receive the enemy; the same order, steadiness, and courage, which gave victory to our excellent army, on the two former occasions, has again given us a most complete one. The enemy have been repulsed with great loss, such as ought to make General Menou, who commanded in person, respect our

troops too much to risk a second attempt of the kind ; at all events we are prepared to receive him.

"I was in too much pain to enter into any details in writing last night, having received a violent contusion from a musket ball, which glanced on my right shoulder ; the pain has subsided, and I am enabled, by the surgeon's report, to say, that if the fever does not increase, I may still continue my duty, which I am particularly anxious to do at this crisis of our affairs, when either another battle, or a happy issue to the negotiation, your lordship has been pleased to authorise me to enter into in your name, conjointly with Sir Ralph Abercrombie, must bring them to a speedy conclusion.

"I am apprehensive lest matters should be delayed by the absence of that excellent man, the wounds he has received having been found to be worse than he would at first admit ; I met with him in the field, in a most perilous situation, surrounded by French dragoons, with the sword of their commanding officer in his hand, which he had wrested from him, after having received a thrust which glanced on his breast ; I gave his excellency my horse of course. General Stewart's brigade brought down most of the French horsemen singly, who were coming back through the interval in our line, and making off, having been roughly handled by the 42nd regiment. The Swiftsure's seamen secured me a horse among those of the French dragoons ; the push was a most desperate one on the part of the enemy, but General Moore's brigade, as usual, found itself equal to bearing the brunt of it. Enclosed are a series of letters from General Menou, and the chief of

the French staff, to General Riou, together with the general orders for the attack, found on the field of battle, which prove that the enemy had assembled all the force they could spare from the defence of Cairo (particularly cavalry), in order to make a decisive action of this. They have bought the experience of their inferiority dearly. Our position was precisely the same as that we drove them from on the 13th.

"I cannot conclude without expressing my approbation of the manner in which Captain Maitland executed the orders I gave him, to place himself with his armed vessels on the sea side, so as to flank the front of our redoubt on the right, the attack on which was considerably checked, when his fire opened on the enemy's left wing, the attack on our left wing having been a mere feint. Captain Hillier, who commanded the armed flat boats on the lake, had no opportunity of renewing his exertions on that side. Captain Ribouleau, the captains, officers, and seamen, attached to the field-pieces in the line, behaved with their usual energy and bravery; they have been indefatigable in the execution of all the arduous duties required of them, and merit your lordship's approbation.

"The weight of the attack bearing on the right, Captain Guion, Lieutenant Davies, &c., and those on that wing, had the greatest opportunity of distinguishing themselves. The Turkish marines are landing, and the natives come in; both naturally look to the person who has been so long invested with authority from their sovereign; and the re-opening of the market has been the first good effect of this victory. The

preservation of harmony, good order, and the due administration of justice occupy me at present.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Extract of a letter from the Right Honourable Lord Keith to Evan Nepean, Esq., dated, "Foudroyant, off Alexandria, August 27th, 1801.

"On the evening of the 16th, all the boats of the ships of war and transports, in this bay, were assembled in the Mareotis, with as many germs as could be collected from the Nile, for the purpose of receiving the troops, who were embarked in the night, and landed without opposition the next morning, under the superintendence of Captain Elphinstone, considerably further to the westward than was intended, the wind not admitting of the boats reaching the shore nearer to the town; the enemy seeing no prospect left of saving their armed boats, set fire to them, and blew them all up in the course of this and the following day, except two or three which have fallen into our hands; whilst the landing was carrying into effect, Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, of the Tigre, was directed, with some sloops of war and armed boats, to make a demonstration of attack upon the town.

"General Menou finding himself closely pressed on the eastward of the town by the commander-in-chief, who had carried some of the enemy's important redoubts, and established strong batteries against their entrenched lines, and on the western side by Major-General Coote,

who had, during the preceding night, driven in several of their out-posts, and advanced close up to an important position, which the enemy seemed conscious of being unable to defend, sent out, on the evening of the 26th, proposals for an armistice of three days to arrange terms of capitulation, which I have no doubt will soon terminate in the surrender of the town."

Instead of an armistice, the commanders-in-chief of the British forces sent a joint letter by Sir Sidney Smith and Major Montresor, addressed "To the officer commanding at Alexandria," supposing General Menou to be absent. The following explanatory letter is addressed to Menou, and produces an arrangement between the contending parties for the evacuation of Egypt by the French, the conclusion of which will be seen in a succeeding chapter.

TO GENERAL MENOU.

"On board His Imperial Majesty's ship Selim,
in Aboukir Bay, March 27th, 1801.

"SIR,

"The joint letter transmitted by the commanders-in-chief of the British forces, through the medium of Sir Sidney Smith and Major Montresor, 'To the officer commanding at Alexandria,' and having for its object a proposal on their part for entering into a negotiation for the evacuation of Egypt by the residue of the French army, was addressed to that officer under an impression of your being absent from the spot, and a persuasion of its being immediately communicated to you; but as from General Traint's reply—addressed to

Sir Sidney Smith,—it does not appear that any communication of these proposals has been made to you (Menou), we think it incumbent upon us, since the arrival of the first division of the forces of the Sublime Porte, to call your attention to a serious consideration of the object it had in view, which was a proffer of proposals for entering into negotiations for the evacuation of Egypt, (the territory of the Sublime Porte,) on terms honourable, liberal, and advantageous to the troops serving under your command, with assurance of their secure retirement to France, with arms, baggage, and the private property of individuals without exception; on condition *only* that all the artillery, ammunition, and vessels in the ports, should be surrendered to the forces of the allies.

"These proposals are now renewed in the most unreserved terms, in the name and on the authority of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, and his Britannic majesty; and we are induced to request a definitive answer from you, that the line of conduct observed by us may be publickly known; that we may be held free from any responsibility for the prolongation of a contest, that must be productive of much effusion of blood through all parts of this country; and that no censure may attach to us for the imposition of conditions, which the fate of war, at a future period, may authorise us to require, less consistent with the military spirit of the remains of your brave troops, and less favourable to the preservation of private property and to the security of peaceable retreat."

On these terms, proposed by the two commanders-

in-chief, a convention was entered into and concluded, and preparations were immediately set on foot for the evacuation of Egypt by the French.

About this period Sir Sidney received from Lord Keith the following communication.

"Foudroyant, Bay of Aboukir, July 5th, 1801.

"SIR,

"The lords commissioners of the admiralty have been pleased to devolve upon me the acceptable task of conveying to you their lordships' approbation of your active and spirited exertions at the time of the debarkation of the army in this bay, on the 8th of March last, as well as during your co-operation with the army on shore; and have directed me to make a particular communication of their satisfaction to you; I lose no time in complying with their lordships' commands, and congratulate you upon the fresh testimony of their lordships' approbation which you have received.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "KEITH."

I cannot resist concluding this chapter with a note, written by that clever and accomplished lady Miss Jane Porter, to Lady Smith, in which she urges her to prevail on Sir Sidney, whom she calls her Cæsar, "to be his own annalist,"—telling her he will have "some of those *plumes of fame*, with which all nations concur to honour him so truly, stripped off, if he do not seriously turn them into *a quiver of pens*;" and

she encloses an extract containing "a description of St. Jean d'Acre, by Sir John Maundeville, Knight, when he visited the east, in the fourteenth century;" and as Sir Sidney had other more grave and important employment on his hands, to divert his attention from a description of Acre, nothing of the kind is found in the great mass of his MSS., kindly supplied to the author by his excellent friend and executor, Captain Arabin, R. N.; the letter, together with the extract from Maundeville's old and curious book, may afford amusement to those who have never seen the original.

"Long Ditton, Surrey, March 12th, 1821.

"MY DEAR MADAM,

"Probably, ere this, Mrs. Underwood has had the pleasure of delivering into your hands for Sir Sidney, "Anastasius:" your knight of Palestine will there find many of his old acquaintance, that must recall to his own memory scenes which the page of history will record for ever. In turning over the almost obsolete travels of Sir John Maundeville the other day, I found an account of Acre, which gives so wonderful a description of "the fosse of Mennon," and its properties, that I cannot forbear copying it; and begging you to shew it Sir Sidney, and ask him whether all its "great marvels" are true. At the bottom of it I have pinned the Persian writing of the Mithratic name the Persians have given to him. I made the late governor of Salsette, who is now our neighbour, write it for me. After all nations concurring to honour him so truly, methinks he will deserve to have some of these "plumes of fame" stripped off, if he do not *seriously* turn them

into a *quiver of pens*, and with them endite his own memoirs, as many a great man has done before him. Miss Westley once told me that Wraxall was to have the distinction of being his biographer; but, I fear his is too gossiping a style for "The Commentaries" of an heroic life; therefore, again, dear lady Smith, urge your Cæsar to be his own annalist.

"We have heard from my brother of his safe arrival at St. Petersburgh, where he found his family quite well. They all talk of being in France, please heaven, next year, and in that case I should again have the pleasure of finding myself in your circle.

"With my best remembrances to Sir Sidney, and wishing to be held in the recollection of your three charming daughters, believe me always, dear madam,

"Your ladyship's very faithful,

"JANE PORTER."

Description of St. Jean d'Acre, by Sir John Maundeville, Kt., when he visited the East in the fourteenth century.

"And who so will arryve at the porte of Tyre, or of Syria, that I have spoken of before, may go by land, if he will, to Jerusalem. And men go from Syria (or Sidon) into the city of Akoun (Acre) in a day. And it was clept sometime Tholomayde. And it was sometime a city of christendom, full fair; but it is now destroyed; and it stood upon the sea. And from Venyse to Akoun by sea is 2080 miles of Lombardye. And from Calabre or from Cecyle to Akoun by sea is 1300 miles of Lombardye. And the Isle of Crete is right in the midway. And beside the city of Akoun,

toward the sea, 120 furlongs on the right side toward the south, is the hill of Carmelyn, where Helyas the prophet dwelled; and there was first the order of Freres Carmes founded. This hill is not right great nor full high. And at the foot of this hill was some time a good city of christian men, that men cleped Cayphos; for Cayphus first founded it; but it is now all wasted. And on the left side of the hill of Carmelyn is a toun that men cleped Saffre; and that is set on another hill. There Saint James and Saint John were born; and in the worship of them there is a fair church. And from Tholomayde, that men clepen now Akoun, unto a great hill, that is cleped Scalle of Thires, is 100 furlongs. And beside the city of Akoun runneth a little river that is clept Belon. And there nigh is the fosse of Mennon, and that is round; and it is 100 cubits of largeness; and it is all full of gravel shining bright, of the which men make fair verres and clear. And men come from far with ships, and by land with carts, for to fetch that gravel. And though there be never so much taken away thereof on the day, at morrow it is as full again as ever it was; and that is a great marvel. And there is evermore great wind in that fosse that stirreth evermore the gravel, and maketh it trouble. And if any man do therein any manner of metal, it turneth anon to glass. And the glass that is made of that gravel, if it be done in the gravel, it turneth anon into gravel as it was first. And therefore some men say that it is a sweloghe (breathing-place) of the gravelly sea."

فرزند آفاب

SON OF THE SUN.

CHAPTER XI.

EVACUATION OF EGYPT.

PURSUIT OF BUONAPARTE, WHO, AFTER A SLIGHT AFFAIR, RETAKES THE REDOUBT AND CASTLE OF ABOUKIR. — DESERTS HIS ARMY, AND EMBARKS FOR FRANCE. — HIS RECEPTION THERE, AND IS MADE FIRST CONSUL.—ASSASSINATION OF THE PATRONA BEY (OTTOMAN ADMIRAL) IN A MUTINY OF THE JANISSARIES AT CYPRUS. — DEFEAT OF THE FIRST DIVISION OF THE OTTOMAN ARMY.—A LARGE FORCE REPORTED FROM ENGLAND.—VICTORY AND DEATH OF GENERAL SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE.—THE PART TAKEN IN IT BY SIR SIDNEY SMITH.—HIS DEPARTURE FOR ENGLAND.—EVACUATION OF EGYPT BY THE FRENCH.

1799—1801.

It has been seen by the letter of Sir Sidney Smith, of the 30th May, from Jaffa, that he had completely routed Buonaparte and his army before St. Jean d'Acre, on the 20th of that month, after a severe conflict in which the French general-in-chief was personally engaged; and which terminated, after a siege of sixty days, in the precipitate retreat of the enemy, during the night between the 20th and 21st, leaving behind them their battering train of artillery, (having first destroyed their carriages by burning,) and their 12-pounder guns, together with the most severely wounded of the two thousand men said to have suffered, who were sent away by water, in such craft as they could procure; the rest proceeded by land.

Sir Sidney, being well aware of the embarrassed state

of the retreating army in the course of its march, says, "I took care, therefore, to be off Jaffa and Damietta, before the French army could get so far as to the former place." It is from Jaffa that his letter of the 30th (chap. 10) is dated. And what a deplorable picture has he drawn of the miserable condition of the two portions of the routed army, fleeing before their conquerors, by sea and by land! The vessels hastily collected pushed off to sea, in the worst condition and unsupplied with seamen, the wounded in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, and driven to such distress as to steer direct for his majesty's ships whenever seen, in full confidence of receiving the succours of that humanity to which, though enemies, many of the conquered were no strangers, and in which confidence they were not disappointed.

In the retreat of the party by land, traces of the utmost disorder were strongly marked, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza was strewed with the dead bodies of those who had sunk under fatigue, hunger, or the effect of wounds: and at Jaffa it is remarked, that the heap of unburied Frenchmen lying on the bodies that they had massacred two months before, "appeared another proof of divine justice."

On the 15th July, 1799, the Turkish army under Mustapha Pasha and Patrona Bey, took by assault the redoubt and castle of Aboukir, which, it appears by the following letter of Sir Sidney Smith to Lord Nelson, were retaken by the French, after some severe fighting; the account of this appears in the following letter of the 2nd August.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD NELSON.

"Tigre, in Aboukir Bay, August 2nd, 1799.

"I am sorry to have to acquaint your lordship of the entire defeat of the first division of the Ottoman army, destined to act against the enemy in Egypt, under the command of his excellency Mustapha Seraskir, who is wounded and taken prisoner, after having defended himself gallantly, and wounded General Murat, who took him. However, under these untoward circumstances, we have the satisfaction of observing the enemy's loss to be such, that a few more victories like this will annihilate the French army.

"It is much to be lamented that we had not two regular regiments, in addition to the remnant of the Chiflick corps, which was almost entirely cut to pieces for want of support; we should then have been able to have kept the redoubt and castle of Aboukir, which Mustapha Pasha and Patrona Bey took by assault, on the 15th ultimo; as it was, the unformed mass of irregular infantry could not withstand the spirited attack of a small body of French cavalry, which leaped over the works after having been three times repulsed by the effect of our cannon. On my arrival, five days after the disembarkation, I found the Turkish army in a very different position from that in which I hoped to find it, from the correspondence which had passed between Mustapha Pasha and me; and much less considerable, being but 5,000 men instead of 15,000, as had been reported. Hassan Bey, who came with me, had but 2,000, and as Buonaparte was at Rahmania,

an attack was to be expected immediately; it was therefore the more necessary to make the best of our ground. The Turks are not easily brought to quit their arms for entrenching tools, of which they only begin to see the utility; thus the attempt at making lines across the peninsula, from the redoubt to the sea on each side, was very imperfect. The gun-boats were ordered to take a station to flank these lines, but there was no stimulating their crews to any degree of exertion in the transporting of them, and thus the enemy had less fire opposed to them than might have been produced, had the division destined for the west side of the Isthmus reached its station. The English rowing boats alone went there, after completely clearing the east side from the enemy, and we felt the insufficiency of our fire so much the more, since even that made a considerable impression on the blue column as it advanced to the assault; it was even repulsed twice, but the barbarous custom of the Turks, in cutting off the heads of their fallen enemies, to effect which they ran forward irregularly, produced a burst of indignation amongst the French infantry, which rallied them; the suddenness of their return to the assault discomfited the unconnected defenders of these imperfect lines; the sea was soon covered with hundreds of fugitives swimming off to us, and the castle on the point became too much crowded for it to be practicable for the besieged to act in its defence, or for us to supply such a numerous garrison. The want of water was immediately felt to a most distressing degree, and all our attempts to give it them, in sufficient quantity, were rendered abortive by the impatience of the most forward on the

shore, who either stove the cask to get at it, or emptied them to make rafts, in spite of the fire of their famishing companions behind. This being the case, we did our utmost to bring off all superfluous people, but the throng was so great that it was only to be done, sword in hand, to prevent the boats being overpowered and sunk. The miserable fugitives using their weapons only against us and each other, without ever covering our approach by returning the heavy fire of the enemy, whose nearest trenches and batteries were opened but a few yards from the gate. The whole of the eighteen Turkish gun-boats being at length brought up, in spite of the *vis inertiæ* of their crews, the enemy were reduced to the forms of a regular siege, to cover themselves from our fire. Yesterday, the seventh day of this contest, the efforts on both sides were redoubled, by the recollection of its being a memorable anniversary. This morning, however, the castle fell into the enemy's hands, by the garrison rushing out unarmed, and surrendering at discretion.

"I cannot conclude this letter without again expressing my grateful sense of the services of Colonel Douglas, of the marines, who, accompanied by Major Bromley, threw himself into the castle at a most perilous time, when three parties in it were cutting each other to pieces with their sabres, thereby restoring, if not order, at least an interval of calm, which enabled us to make an arrangement for the withdrawing some of the superfluous mouths; by this means, above a thousand more were saved that night, and the Ottoman government is consequently under the greatest obligations to both these officers. I am happy likewise in

bearing testimony to the zeal and steady conduct of Lieutenants Hillier and Stokes, together with the petty officers and boats' crews employed as at Acre, in flanking the enemy, and succouring the garrison.

(Signed) "W. S. S."

Causes of the defeat of the Ottoman army, under the command of Mustapha Pasha Saraskier, on the Peninsula of Aboukir, on the 25th July, 1799, with a note from Sir Sidney, to say, that for the attempt to maintain a footing on the coast of Egypt, and to begin the siege of Alexandria, it was not adequate; in the face of the army assembled by General Buonaparte in person, to oppose their forces.

"1st. The primary cause was the original formation of the army under feudal chiefs, without connection in its parts, organisation, or gradation in rank.

"2nd. Its being far less in number than supposed and reported, and certainly unequal to undertaking the siege of Alexandria, consequently fit only to carry on a harassing war of posts, under the protection of the naval force, to cause a division in favour of the Vizier, and facilitate his uninterrupted progress into Egypt by the way of the desert.

"3rd. The Pasha not having listened to the advice on this head, sent him by Sir Sidney Smith, through Major Bromley, which pointed out Damietta and Rosetta as the stations to which his forces should be directed, while the fleet occupied the Bay of Aboukir, being not only a powerful diversion, but likewise conductive to the blockade and reduction of Alexandria by

famine, which, now that it is strongly fortified, is the only way that an army, unused to the European mode of carrying on a siege, can attempt it.

"4th. The want of water, owing to want of casks in the transports, and even in the Turkish men-of-war, which rendered the disembarkation on the first point of the coast of Egypt which they reached, an object of unavoidable necessity, and occasioned the extreme of distress for want of that indispensable article, when the army had retreated into the castle, where the single well furnishes only brackish water, although the Peninsula furnishes good water wherever wells are sunk.

"5th. The backwardness of the Turkish gun-boats, which were ordered to take a commanding station to the westward of the Isthmus, but which never arrived there; also the inefficacy of the Turkish launches, which were ordered to possess themselves of the lake, and cross their fire on the Isthmus with them.

"6th. The absolute denial of the Turkish launches to accompany the English commodore when he went with his boats to the westward, after having cleared the east side of the Peninsula of every Frenchman, so that when the English boats came round and found the French infantry lodged and crouched amongst the sand-banks on the shore, and totally exposed to the sea, their fire, though well served and directed into the mass of them, being from two guns only, was insufficient for their destruction, or to keep them in check, and consequently rather goaded them on than otherwise; the four gun-boats would have effectually hindered their approach to the redoubt, and covered the retreat of the Chiflick regiment from

the village in front; the Turkish launches would have checked the enemy sufficiently for the Turks to rally; finally, there being no prompt punishment for disobedience of orders, nor any immediate successor to the principal chief, in case of his death, capture, absence, illness, or excess of fatigue; and in short, such a want of gradation in the distribution of ranks, that it is indispensably necessary for the principal chief to superintend the execution of the most trifling service himself, to the ultimate prejudice of his authority on greater questions where every one pretends to decide. The mutinous spirit of their army was carried so far as to produce the actual arrest of the governor and principal personages in the castle, and increased the difficulty of supplying their wants, as, in the disorder, they forced the boats which brought water to them to return with fugitives, firing on those who approached with necessary caution, fearing to be overpowered with more than they could bear.

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The following paper, entitled, "Battle of Aboukir," appearing in this place among the papers of Sir Sidney Smith, and being obviously a minute of an officer attached to Buonaparte, it is thought proper to give it, more especially as it conveys a trait of Buonaparte's impetuous, or as the officer calls it, "one of his overhasty resolutions peculiar to him."

BATTLE OF ABOUKIR.

"We retook the road to Cairo;—on the shore of Gaza we saw a caravan of camels, I went before with

Barthélemy, who commanded the division to stop their progress. Immediately two Arabs sprang on me, I received a shot and sabre cut, which these my adversaries paid with their lives; it passed in the presence of Captain Bessières, brother to the marshal of that name; many of my comrades were witnesses of it. We at last arrived at Cairo, where we received orders to go to Aboukir, to revenge the check we had received. During the *trajet*, the general-in-chief several times gave me orders to go in advance, to see if the enemy were Turks or Arabs. On these occasions I was always accompanied by the brother of the Mameluke whom Napoleon had already attached to his person. On our arrival we marched on the Turks, who had just disembarked near the fort of Aboukir. I was scarcely on the field of battle than I heard the following cry,—'Come to me, come to my assistance!'—It was a maréchal-des-logis of the 3rd regiment of dragoons, who had already received a ball in the chest, and was dying under the scymetar of two Turks; I went before them, and with a cut of my sabre I laid one on the ground, and the other took to his legs. The unfortunate dragoon had fallen from fatigue and from pain occasioned by his wound. I lifted him from the ground and transported him.

"I placed him under a tuft of palm trees, and begged the surgeon to extract the ball from his chest, the latter refused this act of humanity, saying, what was unfortunately too true, 'that he had a great many more wounded to attend to than this man or another;' said I, with quickness, 'It is the same, they are all Frenchmen; I did not bring him from the field

of battle alive to see him die here, in the sight of him whose duty it is to save him; come, sir, time presses, don't lose more time in useless words.'

"'What do you wish me to do?' replied the surgeon: 'I have no linen.' Scarcely had he said this, when I tore off one of my shirt sleeves and gave the wounded man;—his wound was dressed on the spot: while the surgeon was binding up the wound, a ball from either the English or Turkish struck the foot of the palm-tree where I had laid the wounded man, and overthrew all three of us,—we were covered with sand: the surgeon assisted me in lifting up the dragoon, and I had him placed in a secure place with the other wounded. As I was leaving him, he asked me the name of his liberator? 'Krettly,' said I, and * * * * to rejoin my regiment, which was preparing to charge. At this moment Buonaparte gave orders for the 32nd and the 18th demi-brigades to come up, in short to cut the line of the Turkish division. Seeing that this movement was not to his liking, he took one of his over-hasty resolutions which was peculiar to him; he galloped between the enemy's fire and ours, for the purpose of arriving sooner; he was accompanied by Prince Eugène and General Murat. This perilous decision was the cause of success in the movement he had made,—but a part of the guides who followed were either killed or wounded, himself going through the midst of so many balls, both of his friends and enemies, without being hit by either. His army, like himself, ought to trust to destiny, for it appeared written on his forehead, that balls and shot ought to respect persons. I crossed the Turkish camp at the moment the Pasha

came out of his tent, he drew pistol in hand, but he, fortunately for me, only took a piece of my hair, and he received in exchange a sabre cut, which marked his face; he was covered with blood, and quite astonished with the blow he had received from me. It was not difficult to make him prisoner, and I conducted him to the état-major, where he, not speaking our language, made a sign to me to take his star and his crescent. I immediately remitted these objects to Buonaparte, who said to me, 'Take care of that star, it may be useful to you some day.' I kept it sacredly as a *souvenir* of this brilliant action; and it has never forsaken me in the midst of the misfortunes I have gone through. I to this day possess it. The Pasha said many flattering things to me through the interpreter. As for myself I only thought of fighting for my country without personal advancement. I abandoned my prisoner to return to charge the Turks. The chief of brigade, Bessières, ordered me to hoist the flag of the party who were going to throw themselves into the sea, to save themselves, either on board the English or Turkish ships: I arrived on the sea-shore as soon as the party, and had the good fortune to return with the colours."

FROM SECRETARY KEITH TO SPIRIDION FORESTI, ESQ.

"Tigre, off Alexandria, August 11th, 1799.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have received the copy of your letter of the 15th June by the transport No. 82, which has just now joined, having last come from Acre. Since the expulsion of the French from before that place, Sir Sidney has been at Beirout, where he settled all the differences between

the princes of the mountains and Djezzar Pasha; next at Larnara to complete our water and procure a supply of powder; afterwards to *Baffa* to quell the rebellion in the western districts, thereby to insure our supplies of biscuit and live stock, in all of which essential and very delicate commissions he succeeded without bloodshed: and having thus insured peace and plenty behind us, we proceeded to our old station here, where we arrived on the 20th ult. and found the isthmus and fort of Aboukir in possession of the Turks.

The Turkish fleet, commanded by Patrona Bey, with the land forces, commanded by Mustapha Pasha Seraskier, (which ought to have come to save Acre in March last) were desired by Sir Sidney to proceed to his rendezvous in Aboukir Bay, and wait there the arrival of the Tigre, with Hassan Bey's squadron and the troops that had served with so much distinction at the siege of Acre. The Turks arrived and anchored in the Bay of Aboukir on the 11th ult. and on the 15th a large body of troops were landed, which carried the French redoubt, village, and the fort, by storm, in the course of that day: the detachment, consisting of about 400 men, were cut to pieces, except about forty saved by the generosity of Patrona Bey.

"The Pasha, elated with this success, landed the whole of his troops, consisting of about 8 or 9000 men (though nominally and officially reported to be 15,000), and there remained dwindling away his time without taking any precautions towards repairing the works and rendering his camp *tenable*. Sir Sidney had sent from Acre, to join their expedition, an able officer of artillery, Major Bromley, to direct that part of the

service, but no attention was paid to his urgent and judicious suggestions, so that on our arrival there on the 20th, we found everything in the greatest disorder. It was only Sir Sidney's own suggestions that were attended to, and it required nothing less than his almost constant attendance on shore, assisted by Colonel Douglas of the marines and Major Bromley, to get the Turks to work; but so dilatory were they in every respect, that the completion of the redoubt and entrenchments to cover the camp was not accomplished on the 25th, when Buonaparte, who had time to come from Cairo with a strong body of cavalry and one of infantry, joined to the garrison of Alexandria, attacked the camp at eight o'clock in the morning, and the whole was carried,—the pasha, artillery, ammunition, tents and baggage were in his possession by eleven o'clock.

The cowardice and flight of the Turks on this occasion, is beyond conception; but as there is an *extra* in everything, the rashness of the French was equal to the opposite extreme in the Turks; for a large body of horse, with a column of infantry, rushed forward towards the lines *au pas de charge*, when Sir Sidney led on the Tigre's boats with carronades and twelve Turkish gun-boats, with each a twenty-four pounder, within musket-shot, and then opened upon them with grape-shot, which, in the course of a quarter of an hour, mowed down that body, every round making an evident thorough hollow in their ranks. Had the Turks availed themselves of that circumstance, they would have still won the day, but they did not stir; and perceiving the republicans were carrying all their forces to form them on the western side of the penin-

sula, Sir Sidney went round in the Tigre's boats, ordering all the Turkish launches to follow us, (which order was not obeyed) and, having gained our station there, we opened a regular fire on the enemy, whom we found in large groups behind the sand hillocks, where almost every shot hit in the very thick of them, and did evident execution. After keeping them in check for upwards of an hour, to our great surprise we saw the French cavalry leap into the very redoubt. By that manœuvre the French found means of burying themselves in the redoubt and trenches, and thus rendered our fire almost inefficient."

Immediately after this battle, Buonaparte made his escape by night in a small vessel from Alexandria, for France, and was very nearly fallen in with by the Theseus. It is said that his departure was preceded by a dispatch to the directory, giving an account of his splendid victory at Aboukir, so that the farce to be performed on his arrival might have time to undergo the necessary preparation for its exhibition in Paris. It appears that they had not much time to spare, as the despatch of the gallant hero is said to have preceded his own arrival only three days. Brother Lucien and the Abbé Sieyes were the stage managers; "but the ultimate success of the enterprize was wholly owing to the intrepidity of Lucien, who, arrayed in his presidental robes, rushed out of the council, harangued the wavering grenadiers, and ordered them to follow him into the refractory assembly, of which he was the legitimate president, while his brother Napoleon, put to fright by the terrorists, and confounded by the novelty

of the scene, was incapable of making any exertion." Innocent creature! "Three days after this, on the 11th November, Buonaparte, under the title of first consul, became the real monarch of *republican* France," * and here we leave him to return to his abandoned army and to his conqueror.

Sir Sidney Smith writes to Lord Nelson on the 8th November, from Jaffa, giving an account of the melancholy death of the Patrona Bey, (the Turkish vice-admiral,) who was assassinated at Cyprus, in a meeting of the Janissaries; containing also the defeat of the first division of the Ottoman forces, who were much inferior in point of numbers, and rushed upon the enemy sabre in hand, completely routing the first line of the French infantry. "The day," says Sir Sidney, "was ours for the moment, but the impetuosity of young Osman Aga and his troops, occasioned them to quit the station assigned them as a corps of reserve, and to run forward in pursuit of the fugitives."

The next letter of Sir Sidney, addressed to Lord Nelson, gives a detailed narrative of a disastrous encounter before a ruined castle on the Damietta branch of the Nile, the Turkish forces being commanded by Seid Ali Bey, and the French by Kleber, the successor of Buonaparte, with whom, Sir Sidney says, "I have opened a correspondence on the subject of the convention, which bids fair to come to a satisfactory issue, as I find I have a liberal humane man to deal with in General Kleber."

* "Quarterly Review," vol. vi.

"Tigre, off Jaffa, 8th November, 1799.

"I lament to have to inform your lordship of the melancloly death of the Patrona Bey (the Turkish vice-admiral) who was assassinated at Cyprus, in a meeting of the Janissaries, on the 10th of October. The command devolved on Seid Ali Bey, who had just joined me with the troops from Constantinople, composing the second maritime expedition destined for the recovery of Egypt. As soon as our joint exertions had restored order, we proceeded to the mouth of the Damietta branch of the Nile to make an attack thereon, as combined with the . . . . . Vizier in order to draw the attention of the enemy that way, and leave his highness more at liberty to advance with the grand army on the side of the desert. The endless debate of a Turkish council of war was closed, and the attack began by the Tigre's boats taking possession of a ruined castle situated on the eastern side of the Bogaz, or entrance of the channel, and which the inundation of the Nile has insulated from the main land, leaving a fordable passage. The Turkish flag displayed on the tower of this castle was at once the signal for the Turkish gun-boats to advance, and for the enemy to open their fire, in order to dislodge us; their nearest post being a redoubt on the mainland with two 32-pounders, and an 8-pounder field-piece mounted thereon, a point-blank shot distant. This fire was returned from the launch's carronade, mounted in a breach in the castle, and from field-pieces in the small boats, which soon obliged the enemy to discontinue working at an intrenchment they were making to oppose a landing.

Lieutenant Stokes was detached with the boats to check a body of cavalry advancing along the neck of land, in which he succeeded, but I am sorry to say with the loss of one man killed and one wounded. This interchange of shot continued with little intermission during the 29th, 30th, and 31st, while the Turkish transports were drawing nearer to the landing place, our shells from the carronade annoying the enemy in his works and communications. At length the magazine blowing up, and one of their 32-pounders being silenced, a favourable moment offered for disembarkation. Orders were given accordingly, but promptitude, precision, and obedience are not to be expected in a Turkish army, so that it was not till the morning of the 1st November, that they could effectuate this operation.

This delay gave time for the enemy to collect a force more than double that of the first division landed, and to be ready to attack it before the return of the boats with the remainder. The French advanced to the charge with bayonets. The Turks completely exculpated themselves from cowardice being the cause of the delay; for when the enemy were within ten yards of them, they rushed on, sabre in hand, and in an instant completely routed the first line of the French infantry. The day was ours for the moment, but the impetuosity of young Osman Aga and his troops occasioned them to quit the station assigned them as a corps of reserve, and to run forward in pursuit of the fugitives. European tactics were of course advantageously employed by the French at this critical juncture. Their body of reserve came on in perfect

order, while a charge of cavalry on the left of the Turks put them completely to the rout in their turn. Our flanking fire from the castle and boats, which had hitherto been plied with evident effect, was now necessarily suspended, by the impossibility of pointing clear of the Turks in the confusion. The latter turned a random fire on the boats to make them take them off, and the sea was in an instant covered with turbans, while the air was rent with piteous moans, calling to us for assistance. It was (as at Aboukir) a duty of some difficulty to afford it them without being victims to their impatience, or overwhelmed with numbers. We, however, persevered, and saved all except those whom the French took prisoners, by wading into the water after them, neither did the enemy interrupt us much in so doing. Colonel Douglas and Lieutenant Stokes, who were with me on this service, gave additional proofs of their zeal, ability, and bravery; and the boats' crews as usual, behaved admirably.

The loss in killed on our side cannot be ascertained—the Turks never knowing anything of their own numbers, and resisting all attempts at organization, which might create *subordination*. The French general in his offer to exchange prisoners, on the general account, assures me he has eleven hundred. As to the enemy's loss, we have no means of estimating it; but it must have been sufficient to convince them, that such victories as these against troops which, though irregular, will fight hand to hand with them, must cost them dear in the end—a truth I, of course, endeavour to impress on them in order to induce them to come to terms of evacuation without further effusion of blood. I have opened a

correspondence with the French commander-in-chief on this subject, which bids fair to come to a satisfactory issue, as I find I have a liberal, humane man to deal with in General Kleber, who succeeds Buonaparte. The fugitive narrowly escaped the Theseus and Turkish squadron, which were stationed to the westward of Alexandria, on the probability of his departure, to intercept him, and what was of much more consequence, to prevent supplies from France reaching Egypt. Unfortunately for the first object, the Theseus was delayed a few days seeking provisions, owing to the perverseness of the Turkish governor at Baffa in withholding a promised supply. His conduct has been represented to the porte, and will be properly noticed. I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. Sidney Smith."

The Turks, however, had better success in the capture of the fort of El Arish by an advanced body of the army of the grand vizier, escorted by a detachment of marines from his majesty's ships, under the orders of Major Douglas, accompanied by Colonel Bromley and Captain Winter. They erected batteries which played upon the fort from the 24th to the 29th December, when the enemy, having ceased firing, the major ascended the wall by means of a rope and received the sword of the French commandant; but it having been found impossible, in the first moments, to restrain the impetuosity of the Turks, three hundred of the French garrison were put to the sword, the rest by the exertions of our officers and the Turkish commandant were placed in security, and the sick and wounded taken care of.

About the commencement of the year, Lord Elgin made his appearance in Constantinople, as ambassador extraordinary from the King of Great Britain, to the Sultan Selim, by whom Sir Sidney and Spencer Smith were relieved from their plenipotentiary and diplomatic duties; but he brought the appointment of "secretary of embassy" for Mr. Spencer Smith, which annoyed him so much, that he wrote home to request he might be permitted to decline it. When Sir Sidney announced Lord Elgin's appointment to the grand vizier, he was much grieved on his friend being displaced, and asked, "But why should there be any change? we went on very well together; things went on very well." Sir Sidney told him that the newly appointed ambassador was a great landed proprietor in Scotland, that he had great influence there, and that the English government were in the habit of conciliating such people, by the appointment to high situations, as being the best things they had to bestow. The vizier then said, "Ah! then I understand that your government has also got its mountain chiefs to conciliate."

He then asked what he was called; what the name was. Sir Sidney told him the name in Arabic. "Oh! but," said he, "Elkin is very bad—it is 'evil genius' —it is *the devil.* How could the English government send us such a person!"

The vizier's confidence in Sir Sidney was so great, that, upon an occasion of some important advice which he had to give, the vizier said, "Now, Smit Bey, I don't understand what you mean, nor do I wish to understand anything about it; but this I do know, that

you cannot wish to have any person to replace your friend as vizier, and you could not therefore give me any advice which would risk my place, I shall therefore do as you wish and advise."

The French, notwithstanding some partial successes against the Turks, were now wearied out with the hopeless struggle for obtaining possession of Egypt; and the English not less so, in preventing them: parties were ready enough to take advantage of a convention entered into with the grand vizier by General Kleber, who, after the escape of Buonaparte, had assumed the command of the French forces, by which convention the French army was to evacuate Egypt with its arms, baggage, and effects, partly in its own vessels and partly in those of the sublime porte: but it was not acceded to on the part of the British government; of this more hereafter. It is a subject that caused great uneasiness to Sir Sidney Smith, who was most unjustly censured for the part he was compelled to take, and highly applauded by his friends. In the correspondence it produced, Sir Sidney's great talent in writing, his ability in argument, his love of justice, mercy, and humanity, are all powerfully displayed; but this must be reserved for a future chapter. In the present one may be given the remaining portion of his military exploits in Egypt, concluding with the brilliant victory and death of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in the battle fought with the French army before Alexandria, in which the exertions of Sir Sidney Smith were most important.

In the mean time, matters went on smoothly enough

in Egypt and Syria for the first six months of the year 1800. General Kleber saw the sound policy of withdrawing the French from Egypt and Syria, and gave notice that he had concluded his negotiations for bringing about that effect. On the 6th of February he writes, "I have this day concluded them, and restore this country to the possession of our ancient ally. The re-establishment of the commerce of Egypt will be the first effect of the measure. The treaty shall be the first clause of a peace, which is become necessary to the nations of the west."

This treaty was a modification of the rejected one in London, agreed upon by General Kleber's plenipotentiaries, on board the Tigre, and signed at the camp of the grand vizier, near El Arish, on January 24th, 1800. "This day a convention has been signed here by Moustapha Rasched Effendi, Moustapha Reffichi Effendi, commissioners appointed on the part of the grand vizier, and by General Desaix and Monsieur Poussielgue, commissioners appointed on the part of General Kleber, by which it has been agreed that the French troops now in Egypt should evacuate that country, and should be allowed to return to France;"— and then follow the regulations for giving up forts, towns, &c., eight days after the ratification by the grand vizier and General Kleber.

Nothing indeed could be more cordial than were the French and English at this period, and nothing but the reprimand that Sir Sidney received from the cabinet of London disturbed his mind, which it did most painfully, and certainly much more than it ought to have done, because it afforded him an excellent opportunity of

displaying his superior talents in the defence of a good cause, as will presently appear.

The harmony which now prevailed was, however, unfortunately interrupted by an incautious letter of Lord Keith to General Kleber, dated on board H. M. S. Queen Charlotte, written no doubt in ignorance of what was going on—such is the disadvantage of a commander-in-chief issuing his mandates to parties at a distance, which lapse of time may have rendered highly inexpedient to be carried into effect.

His lordship says to General Kleber,—"Sir, I inform you that I have received positive orders from his majesty not to consent to any capitulation with the French troops which you command in Egypt and Syria, at least unless they lay down their arms, surrender themselves prisoners of war, and deliver up all the ships and stores of the port of Alexandria to the allied powers." In short it goes even beyond the restrictions originally given in the order from home, of December, 1799.

In the following long letter of Sir Sidney to Lord Keith, of the 13th March, 1800, he points out the amiable and excellent qualities of Kleber and his commissioner M. Poussielgue, of whom he speaks in the highest terms.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD KEITH.

"Tigre, off Alexandria, March 13th, 1800.

"My Lord,

"I own, in my office of mediator, in this business, it never entered into my ideas that *we* could put any

obstacle in the way of an arrangement, so very beneficial to us in a *general* view, and which evidently could not take place on any terms disgraceful to a veteran, unbeaten, and even uninvested army. As to disarming them, and persuading them to surrender as *prisoners* not on parole, I assure your lordship it was perfectly out of the question. If the business is allowed to go on in the way it is now settled, the gigantic and favourite projects of Buonaparte are rendered abortive, and surely it is no bad general mode of reasoning, and particularly applicable in this case, to say that whatever the wishes of the *enemy* may be, we ought to cross *them ; he* wishes this army to remain in this country, far from himself, whom they both despise and detest, for all his conduct here, and his ultimate desertion of them, composed as they are, of the dissatisfied part of the army, which the republican tyrants wished to get rid of. The officers being in general, at least the superiors of them, liberal gentleman-like men, it is not to be expected that they will be reconciled to a more monstrous tyranny established in place of the directory ; many are, to my knowledge, averse to the whole republican system, and I have most positive ground for saying that Kleber is Buonaparte's most determined and most dreaded opponent. It would much weaken this general's powers of action against him, to let this be generally understood, although the temper of the army is sufficiently evident. Mr. Poussielgue, whom I have seen and conversed with, since I began this letter, is necessarily (from his situation at the head of the financial department), most intimately acquainted with both these leading men, and he has given me

many proofs, that if Buonaparte astonishes, by his comprehensive genius, and leads mankind, by the ascendency he assumes over the timid part of them, General Kleber causes admiration by his military talents and virtues, while he attaches those he has to lead, by inspiring them with confidence in his integrity, as well as in his firmness. M. Poussielgûe is himself one of the most liberal men I ever conversed with; we have gone occasionally very deep in the question of probabilities, as to the future form of government under which France may ultimately make and preserve peace, which is naturally the object of his thoughts, wishes, and labours in his civil line. I never met with any among those, who have served the republicans, so distinct in preserving the middle course between the extremes of monarchical despotism, and the demagogue system, preferring, however, any thing to the anarchy of the latter, under which he has suffered.

"This latter consideration alone makes him bear with the present monarchical despotism of Buonaparte, as the least of two evils, but with the firm resolution of opposing its permanent establishment; he is no partizan of Buonaparte, I can assure you, having had him as my guest for near three months, and consequently having had an opportunity of observing all the shades and degrees of his opinion, concerning the character of that scourge of mankind, as he related the various anecdotes of their confidential intercourse, on the public affairs which passed through his (Poussielgue's) hands. I cannot, of course, repeat in writing any of these anecdotes, though they would convince you, as they have me, that Buonaparte's projects are much too vast for his means, and the

knowledge of them must necessarily induce those around him to cramp him all they can; as otherwise they, and even all France, must become victims to his inordinate thirst of power. Conceiving that the conversation of such a man would, if led on by degrees, with the address of which your lordship is master, be very interesting and instructive, and considering at the same time, that he was the person best qualified to detail the ground, on which we met in the final discussion and termination of the delicate business we had to treat, I proposed to him, when he came often to me from Alexandria, to go down to you directly, and his wish is to go on to England, if your lordship is not enabled soon to remove the obstacles of the execution of the convention, in which our national faith is pledged.

"As I know him to be charged with a direct commission from General Kleber, to resist Buonaparte's schemes for the future operations of the Egyptian army, and in general to give him details by no means agreeable to him, I pledge myself to your lordship that no inconvenience to us would arise, were you to allow him to go to England, through France, seeing Buonaparte in the way, and clipping his soaring wings, which no man but himself can do so well. Believe me, my dear lord, there is no way of finishing this long contest, in which we are engaged, but by putting our opponents one against the other; what force have we got to set limits to their influence otherwise? I speak from the experience I gained at Paris, when I say, France can only be set to rights by Frenchmen, and till she is set to rights, in the internal springs of her government, we never can have peace; for the neces-

sitous, the turbulent, and the proscribed part of their twenty-eight millions of men look to war, as the element in which they can best live; and with a man, who has no other than military ideas, at their head, France will become a military and a conquering nation, if we do not sap the evil at its foundation; all we can do on any ray of their immense ramification, is like a rap on the knuckles to a wild beast, which may make him draw his paw in for the moment, but renders him savage and ready to aim another blow.

"You no doubt remember the name of *Poussielgue*, as the writer of the first intercepted letter, by which we got a detailed account of the battle of the Nile, *from an eye-witness, and a close observer;* that letter shewed the writer to be a man of sense, while his affectionate termination of it, to his forlorn wife, shewed him to be a man of feeling; and he may surely be excused the little ridicule which attended his apprehension of his portrait falling into our hands. He was rather sore on this subject of the publication of his letter, till I assured him that every man of sense and feeling in England had admired the narrative, from its precision and comprehensiveness, and those, that had either a wife or a mistress, could not but commiserate with him, on his being cut off from all communication with the object of his affections.

"I thus make over to your lordship this gentleman-like social negotiator, whose abilities and knowledge of routine will ever make him a leading man in the cabinet, even under any new government in France; never having been implicated in the crimes of the demagogues, and I hope for his early return, with the authorisation to relieve us from a state of most painful

suspense; and me in particular, from a most heavy load, having to prevent these two armies from coming to blows, entirely by my right to speak plain to both chiefs, although each is convinced that his safety depends on an immediate attack being made by him, to prevent that of the other which he expects. I cannot conclude this long letter, without thanking your lordship for your very feeling and friendly consideration of my present situation, in this delicate business, and for kindly anticipating my natural desire, not to be myself employed in the breach of the convention. Your letter of the 1st of March, having reached while writing, I am employing the powers of the Tigre otherwise, by scouring the outer limits of my station, having accompanied the Constance as far as Gaza, and now going to look into Derne and Bomba, while Mr. Keith is working on the minds of Kleber and the vizier, till I come back to secure Mourad Bey's submission, or at least forbearance.

"Your lordship's &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

This letter of the 13th March was obviously intended to instill into the mind of Lord Keith a favourable impression of the two gentlemen therein mentioned. The next points out to his lordship the imprudent step he took, of sending to Kleber the resolution adopted at home to amend the convention, or consent to it only on terms highly offensive, as Sir Sidney says, "to an unbeaten army." The first-fruits of this apparent breach of faith might have been anticipated, and Kleber, as a brave and honourable man, was bound to shew to his

army his feeling on the occasion, by immediate recourse to a renewal of hostilities, which took place on the 20th March. His lordship's letter to Kleber was written in a brief and almost insulting style, and was altogether wanting in that courteous manner, in which the commander-in-chief of an army, having just concluded a treaty of peace with a sovereign prince, would expect to be addressed.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD KEITH.

"Tigre, off Alexandria, 5th April, 1800.

"My Lord,

"It is my duty to give your lordship the earliest information, that hostilities recommenced between the French and Ottoman armies, in Egypt, on the 20th ultimo; I have apprised Lord Mornington thereof, as it is probable that the knowledge of this event will decide his lordship to continue in the execution of any plan of co-operation he might have formed, towards driving this French army out of Egypt by force, that mode seeming to be the only one practicable under the change of circumstances which has taken place since the signature of the convention for the evacuation. This change has been occasioned by the notification in your lordship's letter to General Kleber, of the 8th January, specifying the only conditions under which the return of the French army to France would be allowed, and which the veteran troops composing it refused to listen to. Conferences were held between the Reis-Effendi and officers, on the part of General Kleber, to which I was invited, but I did not think

myself at liberty to quit my naval duties, under the probability of a French naval force appearing in these seas. The impatience of the Turkish troops to enter Cairo, from which they were only five miles distant, occasioned the rejection of the French general's demand of a delay, in the evacuation of the citadel, proportionate to the interval of time there might be previous to the arrival of the consent of the British government to the free passage of the French army, as settled by the convention; General Kleber, in consequence, notified his intention to renew hostilities, and attacked the vizier's advanced posts on the morning of the 20th ultimo, in the vicinity of Cairo; the circumstances and result of this battle (if it can be so called,) are briefly, that the French opened a fire of sixty pieces of cannon on the Turkish advanced posts; the Turks advanced in bodies of from fifty to a hundred men, and skirmished with the French line, which remained steady till these were either killed or dispersed; the whole Turkish army then advanced in a tumultuous manner, but when the French moved forward in line, the whole multitude of Turks ran away, except a body of them who had got into Cairo, and began a massacre of the Christian inhabitants, which occasioned the fire of the French in the citadel to open on the city; this was going on when the advices came away; the vizier narrowly escaped being taken, and retreated to Salahié.

"I retarded the evil day as long as I could, by negotiation, and the conclusion of a treaty of evacuation in the only possible way in which it could be brought about; the lamentations of the malcontents of the French army, forming the *evacuation party*, and their

reasoning in opposition to the *colonist party* not being deemed as any proof of their inability to hold out against us; in fact, the inefficiency of the Turkish force is so much more absolute, that I am apprehensive that the consequences of this defeat may place things in a much worse position than they were at the beginning of the campaign. The grand vizier cannot be said to have an army with him at present, and the only chance there is of preventing the total annihilation of his remaining force, is the desperation to which a portion of his forces may be driven, from apprehension of re-crossing the desert, which may induce them to make a stand among the last villages on the edge of the cultivated country near Belbeys, the dislodging them from which will be no easy matter, considering the Turkish mode of fighting. This is but a slender hope, but I am endeavouring all in my power to realise it, by sending a supply of powder to the vizier, and by such other co-operation, as my very limited means enable me to employ on the coast.

"I have the satisfaction of knowing, by the return of my secretary, Mr. Keith, that he succeeded in bringing Mourad Bey over to the grand vizier, and the junction of his excellency and his troops with his highness's army took place, while things were still in suspense as to the issue of the new conferences. The wreck of the brave, indefatigable Mameluke army, which, though often beaten and dispersed in Upper Egypt, as often rallied again round their chief, passed under the citadel of Cairo on March 14th, not only unmolested, but accompanied by a detachment of French cavalry, in compliment to Mourad Bey, whom the French policy inclined to conciliate.

"I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The letter alluded to, from Lord Keith to General Kleber of the 8th January, produced its immediate effect. It was issued to the army in public orders, and it ended by, "Soldiers, you well know how to reply to such insolence—prepare for battle."

If any excuse can be made for Lord Keith's rude and impolitic letter to General Kleber, it is his ignorance of the order received from Lord Grenville to Lord Elgin, allowing the convention to go on, but not exactly in the terms first proposed, and sending him the form of a passport, to be given to each ship that may be employed to convey them.

During the remaining part of the year 1800, matters went on pretty smoothly, interrupted only by the assassination of Kleber and the succession of Menou to the command of the French army. The information is conveyed in a letter from Jaffa of the 27th June, from Mr. Keith, Sir Sidney's secretary, relative to the assassination of General Kleber.

FROM MR. KEITH TO MR. TOOKE.

"Tigre, off Jaffa, June 27, 1800.

"By a letter to Sir Sidney, dated Cairo, 20th June, and received here yesterday, we learned that Kleber had been assassinated by a janissary sent from Gaza, on the 9th of May, who had performed that atrocious deed by stabbing him dead. The command of the army is devolved on *Abdallah Menou*, the chief of the colonist

party, and who long since turned Mahometan to marry a pretty woman, and with the ultimate and real view of becoming a bey of Egypt. In his letter to Sir Sidney (which is very civil,) he says he must wait for orders from the consuls with respect to the evacuation of Egypt. I know he protested against the convention of El Arish, and on that occasion resigned the command of the province of Alexandria and Rosetta, which Kleber immediately conferred upon General Lancesse. He is neither esteemed by the French nor the Egyptians, but he may still hold on for some time. The Turks have committed a great impolicy in thus barring every door to intercourse with the French, which is now effectually the case. Menou having declined to answer any of the vizier's letters, as well as those of Mr. Morier; except that, with respect to the latter, he has '*mis a l'ordre*, que toutes personnes venant de la part d'un nommé *Morier*, se disant sécretaire de Lord d'Elgin seront considérées et traités comme espions, et qu'un pareil sort est reservé au dit *Morier*, si jamais il remet le pied sur les territoires, occupés par l'armée Française.'

"Such is nearly the substance of that *piece*. It seems the animosity against Mr. Morier proceeds from their having found, amongst his papers, the plan, *d'une ruse de guerre*, for destroying the French army, either after the evacuation of Cairo, had the convention gone on, or on their passage. Such is the result of the information I have been able to pick up *pro and con*, on the subject of this cruel and faithless project. I hope none but Turks can have imagined such an atrocious plot, which never would have been put in execution

under our eyes, and still less, now that Lord Keith has given Sir Sidney the most earnest orders to oppose such an attempt, by every means in his power; and General Menou, in his letter to Sir Sidney, expresses himself in the most liberal terms, with respect to him and his followers, as being incapable of participating, in the most distant degree in any such measure, which would tend only to create reciprocal destruction.

(Signed) "JOHN KEITH.

"P.S .The Grand Vizier has invested the Capitan Pasha *and Sir Sidney* with *his full powers* to do whatever they may judge for the best, and had them both *at the same time* invested with two fine pelisses, in the presence of all the grandees and banditti."

Another letter is here inserted from Sir Sidney, dated 7th May, relative to certain opinions on the lake of Aboukir.

SIR W. SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD KEITH.

"Camp before Alexandria, May 7, 1800.

"MY LORD,

"It being of the utmost importance to be early in preventing the enemy establishing a water communication between Alexandria and the opposite side of the new lake near Demenhour, in lieu of the road destroyed by the inundation; and the boats under Captain Hillier, which I ordered for that service on the 21st ult. having been sent round to the Nile, I caused the six flat-boats your lordship ordered Captain Wilson to arm for the purpose, to be launched down the fall from the Lake of Aboukir, without waiting till the water

should find its level. This very critical and rather perilous operation was performed with great skill and intrepidity, and without accident, by Captain Guion and the several officers employed; we proceeded to the westward up the Lake Mareotis, Colonel Duncan the deputy quarter-master-general accompanying me, by order of Maj.-General Coote, to examine the enemy's position, the rear of which was distinctly open to our view, as we sailed along the back of the ridge to the southward of Alexandria. We proceeded in a south-west direction and landed without interruption on the several points of the opposite shore, which suited our observations. From the high hill on the side of which stands the tomb of Scheik El Mergeb, (Pompey's Pillar then bearing north-east by north, eight miles distant,) we observed two branches of the lake, one to the westward and one to the south-east, with a great expanse of water to the eastward, as far as the eye could reach. The ships in the western harbour of Alexandria were open, clear of the town, and nothing but the height of the ridge of conical sand-hills, which divides the lake from the sea, prevented us seeing Marabout and Arabs Tower. We discovered nine lugsail-boats going along shore in the lake from Alexandria to the westward; it blew too hard for the flat-boats to reach them that night, but I directed Captain Guion to follow them.

"He got possession of the commanding officer's boat and another next morning. Enclosed is his report, by which it appears that the enemy have a post established at the western extremity of the lake; and it seems these boats were sent by M. Villeneuve with water from Alexandria for its supply.

"I am much pleased with Captain Guion's activity and zeal, and have every confidence in his exertions towards the execution of the services which this new navigation will enable the navy to perform in co-operation with the army. I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) "WM. SIDNEY SMITH."

SIR W. SIDNEY SMITH TO I. P. MORIER, ESQ.

"Cyprus, February 22, 1800.

"DEAR SIR,

"I think it necessary to send the letter which Mr. Wright will shew you from Lord Keith to General Kleber, through the vizier's camp, rather than direct to the French head-quarters, in order that you may be enabled to apprise his highness of this obstacle to the immediate departure of the French army to France. I trust it will be removed, as soon as the real state of affairs is known; meanwhile, as it is impossible for the vizier to recede and return through the Desert into the hostile territory of Djezzar, and that the renewal of hostilities in Egypt, according to all reasonable calculations, must end in the annihilation of an undisciplined army, opposed to such veteran troops as General Kleber's, now concentered from the distant posts into one body; under these circumstances I feel it incumbent on me to take upon myself the responsibility of preventing the destruction of our ally, by such representations as shall delay the rupture of the convention, till the final decision of our superiors shall arrive, which it is probable will be conformable with ours on the spot, when the materials of which we formed our judgment shall have

reached them. I think it right at the same time, by due frankness towards the enemy, to save our country from the imputation, otherwise liable to fall on it, of perfidy and evil intention in this business. Things have gone too far for it to be possible to go back; and I trust Lord Elgin, to whom I have written fully on the subject, will be enabled to produce that conviction when necessary, in order to relieve us all from a most distressing and embarrassing situation. I send my letter to the vizier open, through you; it is dictated by a conscious sense of duty on mature reflexion. I am well aware of the extent of the responsibility I take upon myself, but there is no doing great things by halves; I take it thus off your shoulders, as you are by no means obliged to bear the weight of what is not your own work; at the same time I leave you full latitude to suppress my letter to the vizier, or any part of it, that may directly militate against your instructions, or clash with circumstances known to you, but of which my present distance may occasion me to be ignorant. We are in an awkward predicament, being liable to the imputation of breach of faith on one side or the other, or even on both sides, if this agreement is not carried into effect. I am at work towards a happy issue out of all our difficulties, and I trust to your appreciating the critical situation of affairs, which rendered this convention the only practicable means of saving not only Egypt but Syria, for Djezzar's defection is now palpable, since he is relieved from the apprehension of immediate punishment for his backwardness.

I am, dear sir, &c.

(Signed) "W. Sidney Smith."

The following letter is from Menou to Sir Sidney Smith.

[Translation.]

LIBERTÉ. EGALITÉ.

REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

T. MENOU GENERAL IN CHIEF TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH, COMMANDING H. B. M. S. TIGRE.

"At the head-quarters of Cairo, 1*st July*,* in the 8th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

"SIR,

"I have received the letter that you have done me the honour to write to me, dated the 9th of June, on board the Tigre, before Rhodes. The horrible assassination committed on the person of the General-in-chief Kleber, having deprived the French army of its chief, I have taken the command of it. Your allies the Turks, not having been able to conquer the French at Maturieh, have, in order to revenge themselves, made use of the poniard as a weapon—that weapon which belongs but to cowards.

"A janissary, who left Gaza two and forty days since, has been sent to commit this horrible crime. The French are willing to believe that the Osmanlis alone are culpable. This assassination ought to be proclaimed to all nations, and all are interested in avenging it.

"The line which you have held, sir, with regard to the convention made at El-Arish, points out to me perfectly that which I ought to hold. You have demanded the satisfaction of your Government; I ought equally to demand that of the Consuls who govern the

* Le Ire Messidor (harvest-month).

French republic at the present time; of every kind of treaty which may be concluded between the army which I command, and that of the English and their allies; it is the only legal, the only suitable, line of negotiation which can take place.

"I abhor, as much as you, sir, the plagues of war, and, like you, wish to see an end of the ills which afflict the universe; but I shall never swerve at all from that which can maintain the honour of the French Republic, and of its armies. I am convinced that this is also your mode of thinking, that good faith and morality should preside over the treaties which are made between nations.

"The French republicans do not know what is meant by *ruses de guerre*, which are spoken of in the papers of Mr. Morier; they have no other rule of conduct than courage in battle, generosity after victory, and good faith in their treaties.

"A hundred and fifty English are prisoners here. If I had consulted only the republican generosity, I should have sent them back without considering them as prisoners, for, having run aground on the coast of Egypt, they have not been taken in arms, and I am well assured that the Consuls of the French republic would have approved my doing so: but your allies, by the most vile conduct, have retained the citizen Baudet, chief of brigade, aide-de-camp to the general-in-chief Kleber, when his person ought to be sacred to the most barbarous nations; he had been sent as a *parlementaire*. I have therefore been forced, against my principles and against my mind, to use reprisals towards your fellow-countrymen; they will not be

released until the moment, when citizen Baudet shall arrive at Damietta; there he is to be exchanged against Mustapha Pasha and some Turkish commissaries.

"If, as I cannot doubt, sir, you have influence among your allies, this affair ought very soon to be terminated; it concerns your honour and eminently compromises 150 of your fellow-countrymen. I have the honour to repeat to you, sir, that it will be with enthusiastic satisfaction, that I shall see terminate a war that has so long afflicted the whole world. The French and English nations are made to esteem reciprocally, not to strive to destroy, each other; but when they treat together, it should be only under conditions alike honourable to both, and advantageous to their prosperity.

"Receive sir, the very sincere assurances of my esteem and high consideration. I have the honour to be, (Signed) "ABDOULLAH BEY T. MENOU."

At this time, Sir Sidney being at Rhodes, and surrounded by remains of splendid antiquities, it may be supposed that a man of his ardent and capacious mind, would not fail to employ whatever artists he could procure, to make sketches of these curious remains; and the following letter points out the quarter to which they were dedicated, and the charitable and humane intention of the donor.

TO THE NAVAL KNIGHTS OF WINDSOR.

"Tigre, Rhodes, Jan. 17th, 1800.

"WORTHY SIRS,

"This island, famous in history, as the theatre of a great exploit performed by the knights of old times,

still contains many monuments of its ancient splendour.

"The liberal and enlightened policy of modern times has occasioned the two rival standards of the cross and the crescent to be united against atheism, irreligion, and hypocrisy; and their junction here affording an opportunity for our taking sketches of these remains of antiquity, before the hand of time shall have entirely defaced them, I have caused it to be done. Considering that the inspection of these copies may afford, nearly, the same gratification to our countrymen in England, that the examination of the originals has given to us on the spot, I hasten to transmit them through you.

"To whom can a book, containing the antiquities of Rhodes, the birth-place of armed navies, be more properly dedicated than to the *naval knights* of Windsor? inhabiting the venerable pile, whose chief ornament is that same shield so conspicuous therein, which still protects Europe from the blow meditated against the very existence of chivalry, and the noble sentiments which characterise it. I have directed the engraver to publish the book by subscription, and to hold the produce at your disposal; in the hope that it may amount to a sum sufficient to render the term "poor" inapplicable to old, weather-worn, tried servants of our country.

"I have the honour to be, with much respect and sincere regard, worthy sirs, your affectionate brother in arms, "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The following letter, dated Alexandria, 21st April, 1800, from Sir Sidney Smith to the Earl of Elgin, was

no doubt intended to give to his lordship (but recently arrived in the country,) information how matters stood; and to offer such sound opinions as he was probably more than any other individual capable of giving.

"Tigre, off Alexandria, April 21, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"It is impossible to conceive the anxiety and impatience with which I look for the arrival of some Turkish man-of-war, or *men*-of-war, to assist me in this blockade, which is a perfect farce with a single ship; and I have none now but my own, as the Theseus has been withdrawn, and the Transfer, which I prevented from following the original orders to return to the fleet, that I might send Mr. Morier safely to the vizier, is, since her return, most actively and necessarily employed in preventing the passage of the germes, loaded with ammunition, which creep along shore among the rocks, between Alexandria and Rosetta, where the Tigre or a ship of large draft of water cannot get at them. The enclosed letters from Rosetta, which she intercepted yesterday, shew you the importance of this service, and the necessity of urging that dilatory old woman, Hassan Bey, to send his flotilla to Aboukir, without loss of time; as to himself, he is better at Rhodes, to forward the passage of what may be coming to this quarter, than here, where his aversion to the whistle of a shot makes him of no sort of use, but rather a bar to enterprise.

I mention this that you may encourage the nomination of *any other person whatever* for *this* service, which is of the more consequence just now, as it appears that Cairo is still ours, and may be held, till we are enabled

to begin our operations on the coast, by way of diversion at least, if we can prevent a supply of shells going to Kleber.

"I conceive nothing but shells can drive the Turks out of such narrow streets as those of Cairo, where artillery cannot be conveyed, and the shot from the citadel cannot go through the mass of houses; besides, falling shot do very little execution, as striking a point only. The enemy seem to have it much at heart to open this communication, as they have fitted out their flotilla, which alas! is more than a match for mine, till I get the Turkish gun-boats; so that, as they don't sail so well, I am obliged to keep them from committing themselves in action, lest I should lose them, and the enemy acquire a reinforcement by their capture. I have but three gun-boats in all; one I have sent to Rhodes to warn Hassan Bey of the renewal of hostilities. One solitary one is cruising off Damietta to prevent the entry of the numerous vessels that must now be on the way thither, supposing the port to be in our hands, according to the circular firman. And the third I have thought it absolutely necessary to station between Jaffa and Cyprus, to keep up Mr. Morier's communication with you, as otherwise your dispatches might accumulate at the place of embarkation, as the vizier's do to the number of sixteen Tartars at one time, whose utmost speed on the road becomes thus thrown away for want of the promised *kirlangitches*.

"Six of these were asked for this service, and promised in my first conferences at Constantinople; they took care not to join me till after the siege of Acre, and soon became so indifferent for want of *payment*,

that they were obliged to return to port; and I have had only one who served till his sails blew to pieces, and he went on shore and was wrecked. I am the more anxious on this score just now, as I every day feel I have need of frequent and quick communication with you, but dare not venture to trust my packets to chance Turkish conveyances, when I find those vessels I warn off in the day time, and who have appeared to shape a course to the northward, return and force their way past the Transfer into the eastern port, while the Tigre is off the western, and that even in spite of her fire. I have already said the blockade of these two ports, with the necessity of paying attention to the mouths of the Nile, (the direct and frequented passage to the army,) is quite impossible without more force; but it is really quite heart-breaking to be condemned, in this way, to make bricks without straw: and I sincerely pity my successor, whoever he may be; if he can't speak any other language than English, he will not be able to get on at all with his perverse coadjutors; the Dragomen speaking no European language but French or Italian.

"You see I speak of a successor; for I am really quite sick of a service, where one is required to do impossibilities, while the means are not afforded to do even what is practicable, nay, inviting, from its provoking facility. For instance, Alexandria itself is vulnerable; and if Kleber succeeds by making partisans of the Mamelukes, who are quite tired of Turkish clemency, it ought to be attacked directly, before the works, mentioned by *Sanson* in his report, as begun, are completed. If we could once confine them to the two hill

forts, the mass of the Turkish inhabitants of Alexandria, who are heartily sick of their inmates, would, it is fair to suppose, rise against them; after all, however, none but Europeans can conduct the siege of the regular works. If there is any intention of setting about this heartily, and disarming these veterans in the only way they can be disarmed, by fair fighting, I am far from shrinking from the obligation, but am ready to do my part by contributing my local knowledge and the ascendancy I have acquired over the Turkish officers, to the operation; but then I must have not only sufficient means given me of co-operating, as the army have a right to expect of the navy, but latitude to accept their surrender, on such terms as will shorten the business, and spare useless bloodshed; for I declare I am quite sick at heart of walking over putrid carcases, and taking care of wounded human beings, whose piteous look seems to interrogate one's inmost soul, how long is this warfare to last?

"It is very easy to decide, at a distance from such scenes, on the necessity of their renewal; but those who have the painful duty of deciding on the moment, and the mode of the sudden annihilation of their fellow-creatures, both friends and foes, can only do it conscientiously, in the hope, and towards the attainment, of the end of their labours of this sort, by a final removal of the obstacles to peace. That *Buonaparte* has no such object seriously at heart, except so far as he may conceive it will consolidate his usurpation, or insure his becoming the General Monk of the revolution, if he finds he cannot continue the Cromwell, I am persuaded, from my knowledge of his insatiable ambition,

his inordinate pride, and his consummate duplicity. That *Kleber has* such an object I am convinced; but if we leave him quietly here to negotiate again, according to his first project, which I overthrew, he may yet realise his scheme of keeping Egypt *nominally* for the Porte, who would rather have that sort of hold on their lost jewel, than to have it dashed out of their hands, as has happened; or if his army are sick of the climate, he may *negotiate* or *force* a march through Syria, where, as Captain Lacy says, a vanguard of *cocked hats* stuck on sticks would disperse all show of opposition.

"I bought my experience of the Turkish troops long ago, and have detailed it in every letter, in a way that I hope would have precluded all expectations of recovering Egypt by that sort of force; my letter of the 9th November gave you the measure of confidence that might be placed in such rabble; behind ruins and in ditches, on which, however, they would bestow no labour whatever, they may crouch a long while and fire whenever they see the corner of a hat, but I pronounce it perfectly impossible for them to be brought into any combination or system, so as to overpower a regular European army. They would make the most formidable light troops, on the wings of regular battalions, and my apprehension now is, that Buonaparte's intrigues, aided by Kleber's renewed offer to restore Egypt, which the Turks feel they never can take, should occasion that sort of close connexion between them, which it has cost us so much labour to prevent hitherto; this is only to be parried by getting them all, *particularly the civilians, out of the country*,—this was my original opinion; and so far from seeing any rea-

son to change it (everything having happened precisely in the way I expected and foretold it), I am confirmed therein.

The chances of war are at best precarious; those of negotiation, where the opposite party meets one half way, are more certain; still, however, in case the conferences are renewed, it will be necessary to make a strong military demonstration of sufficient force to enable us to shew to the insolent part of these gentry, that though they may obtain advantages, they must be so much weakened by the operation, as to be little able to profit by them, and unable ultimately to preserve them. If we begin negotiating again, without a fleet before Alexandria, and an army ready for a descent on one of the very few places where it is practicable, we shall have the "*modifications* of General Kleber brought forward, in the shape of some new inadmissible propositions, such as the first: with force in hand, a military man can reject such propositions without so much risk of a rupture of the conferences, because, as the consequence of the rupture is an immediate battle, it is presumable that no military man would risk it without good ground to expect success; and the opposing party are of course less presumptuous in proportion.

"I found this parity of situation of no small weight in Kleber's mind during our correspondence, but when such characters as the Reis Effendi threaten '*to trample their opponents under the hoofs of the Ottoman horses*,' — when Mr. Franchini threatens them with '*Russian armies*,' known to be otherwise employed; and when the dragoman of the Porte, in a high strain

of poetical prose, assures the French that '*the invincible Ottoman armies never were known to retreat before their enemies*,' it is impossible for those who have driven them like sheep, wherever they have met with them, not to feel the full weight of their superiority, which they had been induced to think less of, on the general scale of reasoning, and to be provoked to drive the herd once more, to convince them it was not fear that dictated the parley. Mr. Morier has manliness and moderation enough to conduct the business, but a want of confidence in his sincerity has been manifested since the unfortunate capture of his portfolio. I wish, therefore, General Graham, or any military man, who can treat with them at a sword's point, would come up and finish what '*naval officers*' have paved the way for, if the latter are to be exiled into the ocean as incompetent. Fortunately, however, for this question, your lordship was liberal enough to consider me as authorised to concert with the vizier on the proposals which had been made, and with that credential in my hand I was enabled to parry a greater evil than that we have to lament to-day; for he must either have listened to Mustapha Pasha's intrigues, the drift of which (as detailed by my early correspondence and since known from General Kleber's intercepted letter) was not clearly seen at first, or else he would have broken off the negotiation in a Turkish style, in which case their defeat would have been earlier, and so much nearer Syria, that General Kleber might have been induced to listen to those who now reproach him for not pursuing his victory. At present, his voluntarily renewing the proposal of evacuation is a proof of

his feeling himself unable to preserve his conquest in the *long run;* and if we succeed in preventing a renewal of the old intrigue, and close with him before one of Buonaparte's creatures comes out to supersede him with a reinforcement, we may yet repair the past mischief.

"Reinforcements might certainly get into Alexandria in transports, while my single ship was firing in all directions at the men of war, who would of course do their utmost to engross our attention, and who must disable me in a degree. Lord Keith writes me he is gone to Genoa; Lord Nelson's flag is in a frigate; so I reckon the channel of Malta more open just now than it has been. Lord Keith tells me he cannot give me even a cutter, though he seems to admit the reasonableness of my demand for more force; therefore we must not reckon ourselves, with such limited means and such extended objects to attend to, quite so certain of carrying on the war here as we wish; the Turks are now fully sensible of their inefficiency, and Mr. Morier writes me word, as he no doubt has to you, that he has no hope of getting them to fight again; and I own that when I look at the vulnerable points of this empire, and consider the genius and projects of Buonaparte, I cannot help feeling he is now turning his whole attention to this quarter; not to Egypt alone, but to the capital itself; and I am confirmed in this idea, by the accidental circumstance of one of my officers, during the truce, having seen a very large detailed plan of the *Dardanelles* and the *Gulf of* Saros, uppermost among *Sanson's* collection, when he opened his portfolio to refer to a plan of Acre, in illustration of some

circumstance of the siege, about which he was speaking. I treasured up this hint for General Koehler and your lordship—*verbum sat sapienti.* The letter from General Kleber to the Caimacan, which I sent to the vizier through Mr. Morier, and of which I send your lordship a copy, *may* therefore be to amuse and gain time. I am inclined, however, to think *him* really desirous to relinquish all Buonaparte's speculations, ready to close in any arrangement that could ensure his prompt return to the theatre of war in Europe, where his army would be less formidable, than desperation and a reinforcement might make them here. I know the evacuation party dread nothing so much as the arrival of a reinforcement, which would fix them permanently as '*armée de l'orient*,' a denomination, I observe, Kleber has dropped, except in the seal; and I am anxious till I know whether I may contribute to the increase of that party, to the prejudice of the other, by the means successfully employed hitherto, of shewing them '*une bonne porte de retraite.*' Ever yours, &c.

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The communication which Lord Keith unfortunately made abruptly, of the breach of the convention, put a stop to the preparations which Kleber had already set on foot for fulfilling the terms of it; and, it is understood, he had already given orders to the French army at Cairo, their head-quarters, and strong hold of the Egyptian forces, to prepare without delay to take their departure. It was this sudden check that caused "the distressing and embarrassing situation" of which Sir Sidney complains. It is too true that "we are in

an awkward predicament, being liable to the imputation of breach of faith on one side or the other; or even on both sides, if this agreement is not carried into effect."

One obvious consequence of the annulment of the convention could not escape any one, and was immediately seen by Sir Sidney Smith; it was the distrust created in the minds of the two contracting parties, the French asserting that they had been deceived and duped, and the Turks that they had been betrayed; and the natural consequence was, the recommencement of hostilities, which took place on the part of the French on the 20th of March, as already stated, when an attack was made on the Turks at El Hanka, who were driven back to Jaffa, with the loss of all their cannon and a great number of men, and what remained of the Turkish army were deserting in all directions.

Captain Lacy of the royal engineers writes to Mr. Morier from the grand vizier's camp, Jaffa, 11th of April, describing their retreat before Kleber's army, stating that the grand vizier, fearing to be cut off in his retreat, betook himself suddenly to the Desert, and retired to Catiet with the greatest expedition; and he concludes, "Here (Jaffa) the remains of this routed army is again encamped, to the amount, perhaps, of 15,000 men, having left many thousands to be cut to pieces by the enemy, some to perish in the Desert, and the rest to be dispersed throughout the provinces.

"General Kleber is one of the best of men, and most reasonable in all the discussions and negotiations that have taken place, but it will require all the tact of Sir Sidney to convince him, that there has not been some

treachery in the case; and the convention having been his own measure, he is of course the more sore at having, as he naturally supposes, been duped; for, with that honesty and straightforwardness so conspicuous in his character, he had already taken potent measures of preparation for the army of Cairo to leave the country."

There was, however, a third party, as deeply wounded at heart, or more so, than either of the other two, and that was the party of the English forces represented on shore by Sir Sidney Smith.

One letter of 12th April, 1800, states, "The vizier was on the eve of entering Cairo and restoring Egypt to the Porte, but a letter from Lord Keith to General Kleber has occasioned his being driven back from within three hours of Cairo to Gaza, with the loss of his *cannon* and *baggage*, his army entirely dispersed, and that fertile and important province lost to the Turks. I cannot," says the writer, "for my part, conceive what can have induced our government to deviate from the first plan of getting the French out of Egypt, by every practicable means, and to adopt one which tends to keep them in possession of it, while it places our national good faith in a very unfavourable light with our allies, the Turks, who, so far from mincing the matter, now accuse us of having betrayed them, and also the French, by opposing the execution of a measure, commended by the interests of the Porte, and perfectly compatible with the treaty of alliance."

[Translation.]

From Sir Sidney Smith to General Menou, commander-in-chief of the French army in Egypt.

"Jaffa, June 28, 1800.

"GENERAL,

"I received this evening the letter that you have done me the honour to write to me of the 20th of June. Just as I was expecting to see General Kleber again, under the most favourable and the most happy auspices, I heard, with the liveliest chagrin and the deepest grief, of his tragic death; I immediately made known this sad event to the grand vizier and to the Ottoman ministers, in the terms in which you announced it to me, and nothing short of the certainty and the detail with which you have communicated to me this intelligence, would have induced their excellencies to give credit to it. The grand vizier has declared to me explicitly and officially, that he has not the least knowledge of those who have committed this assassination, and I am very sure his declaration is true and sincere; and without entering into the particulars of this unfortunate event, which causes me inexpressible pain, I shall content myself with replying to the articles in your letter which treat of our affairs.

"If the grand vizier has retained in his camp the aide-de-camp Beaudet, who was sent to him at Sibil-el-Flam, it is because his excellency has not thought proper to allow any one to leave this camp, at the moment in which he found himself surrounded by his enemies. Beaudet was detained at Sibil-el-Flam, as the Turkish officers, destined to serve reciprocally as hostages with

him, were stopped at Cairo. This aide-de-camp has been sent to the Ottoman squadron, to be exchanged as you desired, and in this interval his excellency the Captain Pasha, having arrived here, his absence from the squadron has caused the desired exchange to be delayed. When his excellency returns to his squadron, as the aide-de-camp Beaudet is before Alexandria, the matter of exchange may be concluded there if you think fit. But I do not see why you should make the liberty of 150 English, who were shipwrecked at Cass Burlos, depend on an affair which concerns but you and the Sublime Porte. I expect from your loyalty and your justice, and according to rules agreed upon between our two nations, for the reciprocal exchange of our prisoners, at which we are authorised to work; that you will permit the return of Captain Buval, of his officers, and of his equipage.

"The promises which you make me, in the hope of reciprocity on my part, cannot be applied to this circumstance, and I think it superfluous to offer you, in reciprocity, the promise of my good offices in favour of a person, who is in so unfortunate a position as I have felt myself to be. I am persuaded that the grand vizier will put the seal of his generous and high approbation to every honest procedure that we shall embrace the one for the other. *Ruses de guerre* are not known by you or by us, and besides that, I shall continue to behave towards you with the same candour and the same loyalty, as I have hitherto done; I shall assuredly use all my efforts, that nobody over whom I have any influence, shall maintain a conduct contrary to these principles; be persuaded that the hostile dispositions

which have been announced by the first oppositions, and which have acquired extension and publicity, may be calmed by the means, which present circumstances will furnish to the two parties, of corresponding and reciprocally understanding one another, and that in the end we shall be united by the bonds of a sincere friendship. In the mean time, we will make war with the means that we have hitherto employed against you, and those whom we can still procure, and we will endeavour to render ourselves worthy of your brave troops.

"The hostilities which you have committed, without waiting for the replies of Admiral Keith, who had no knowledge of the convention terminated for the evacuation of Egypt, have served as a guide for our conduct. I had not demanded at my court its ratification; I had only sought to remove any unforeseen difficulty, which might have opposed itself to the return of the French into their country.

"General Kleber, in the last preliminaries which have been determined, did not make it understood that the treaty, which is to follow, will require the ratification of the consuls who now govern France. This condition, which you put into your preliminaries, appears to be a refusal to evacuate Egypt, and the grand vizier has charged me to demand of you a clear and precise answer on this subject—you desire, as I do, the end of the plagues of war which afflict the universe. The French, by invading Egypt, have raised an insurmountable obstacle to all peace; it is in your power to render this obstacle easy to overcome, by evacuating Egypt on the conditions agreed upon with General

Kleber, and if you refuse, we shall employ all our means and those of our allies to compel you to conditions, which may perhaps not be so advantageous to you. I cannot dissemble how much it will cost me to fulfil this duty, but the evacuation of Egypt is a point interesting for the good of mankind. The ways of conferences and of correspondence are always open to make the dispositions necessary to this end. As the admiral, under whose orders I am, is some distance from me, I am authorised to subscribe to such arrangements, as circumstances may render necessary; and although, by the nature of events, I am not in a condition to make you any new proposal, nevertheless I am ready and disposed to hear those which you wish to make to me. I can declare to you officially, that I shall employ all my efforts and all my means, to hinder every inconsiderate proceeding, and to oppose any vexation on the part of whomsoever it may be. I shall fulfil to the letter all the precise instructions that I have from my court. I know its principles to be founded on the most exact equity and the most perfect loyalty, and my conduct will be conformable with its principles, and all my efforts will tend to fulfil my duty as a disinterested servant. As it is not yet certain, on what point I am going to steer, I beg you to make me a duplicate of your answer, addressing the one to Alexandria, and the other to Jaffa, to the camp of the grand vizier."

"W. S. Smith."

The two following letters from Lord Elgin, of the 19th January, 1801, to Sir Sidney Smith, and Sir Sidney's reply of the 15th February, 1801, bespeak

much good and gentlemanlike feeling on both sides, where, among ordinary minds, there was matter enough for engendering a quarrel.

LORD ELGIN TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Constantinople, 19th January, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,

"You will have known by this time, that all the suggestions you made to me from Rhodes, previous to your cruize, had already been complied with previously by orders which I received early in November from London; and that particular arrangements for supplies of all sorts, as well as general directions, were obtained from the Turkish government, '*which I am happy to learn from the commanders-in-chief had been more effectual than their expectations from these people had led them to look for.*'

"The shipping has been the most difficult commission yet. I hope that what Mr. Wright has got at Smyrna, what I have got here, and what the Chaouches, sent to the islands and under the authority of Mr. Wright, may have got, will ultimately be sufficient in number and in sizes—and the additional gun-boats preparing here will be brought to Rhodes, fit to receive the English officers and men. I only yesterday received Mr. Brae's notification of his appointment to be inspector of transports; and at the same time your letter of the 27th December.

"You will know at head-quarters the fruitless attempt I have made to have Spuring named a British vice-consul. There is such an opinion in the public of his being of a violent temper, that my request was

instantly declined, saying that he could not be admitted into a responsible situation, to act with authority towards the Turks. What, I confess, has a good deal hurt me from you, is the formal solicitation from you 'that I would restore my confidence to Spuring for the good of the king's service and give him my support.' If you recollect for a moment Spuring's situation and mine; if you recollect the circumstances of his departure from hence, you surely cannot seriously suppose, that (however much I may disapprove of the conduct of your brother on the occasion) I could have any personal feeling about Spuring. You surely can't seriously imagine, as you was at first induced to write me, either that I had any desire *on my own account* to be at great expense in fitting up a country vessel, or that Spuring was necessary *to me* for that purpose. But whatever your opinion be, I assure you, that though I thought he acted very wrong on that occasion, I was convinced in my own mind that he could not have acted on his own impulse. I accordingly have ever since bore very readily a favourable testimony to him when called upon. I shall give him every support as I have done wherever he could be of public service.

It has been as unfortunate to business, as it has been unpleasant to myself, that personal views and personal feelings have ever been attributed to every proceeding since my arrival here. I expected it the less from you, not only from our former habits and your own nature, but because I always told you all my thoughts, even on the most delicate occurrences here. You are the only individual in this country whom I had ever before seen. If personal motives

had swayed me, surely I should have withheld every difference of opinion which I have had with you, as cheerfully as I did on my own accord forego all diplomatic interference in your operations on my first arrival here. I have felt my responsibility, proportioned not only to the importance of the business before me, but proportioned also to the distance I am removed from the authority under which I act. The only possibility of proceeding with fairness and consistency, either to government, to myself, or to others employed here, has been to refer every circumstance of whatever nature to the proper authority. Satisfied, as I am, that however odious some instances in that line of conduct may for the time appear, yet that ultimately the interests of government, the services of individuals, will be found to have had justice done them, in as far as was within my ability.

"I cannot conclude without one expression of candour, which, I fear, will not be received as I mean it. But I do rejoice in your having been appointed to command the gun-boats. In a word, no situation could in my judgment have been so difficult as the command you have held, ever since your attention was diverted to subjects unconnected with actual service. We return, I hope, now to the period of St. Jean d'Acre, and, I rejoice at it, in the belief that whenever such an occasion offers you will deserve equal credit.

"Believe me ever, dear Sir,

"Your very faithful humble servant,

(Signed) "ELGIN."

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD ELGIN.

"Tigre, Marmoria Bay, 15th Feb. 1801.

"My dear Lord,

"I was gratified by the receipt of a letter from you dated 19th January, after a silence which made me consider mine as unacceptable to you, and more so at the conciliatory nature of it, after having been formally informed from high authority here, that it had been said at Malta before forty people, and not contradicted by any one who might be supposed to be able so to do, 'That Lord Elgin had written to Lord Keith, that I had favoured the French most unwarrantably;' with a detail of the manner hardly worth repeating now. But I have, by a formal application to Lord Keith, satisfied myself that the report, though generally believed, was as groundless as many others that are invented by malice and circulated by envy, for the express purpose of exciting discord and creating disunion, to the prejudice of our operations. The expiring faction which has so long wielded the destructive weapon of calumny, as a means of establishing its levelling principles, has long had its barbed sting in my reputation; and although it has failed in repeated sinister attempts to deprive me of existence, it has well nigh produced a civil death to my powers of exertion, by weakening the confidence of those with whom I am to act, and thus almost inducing me to consider it as much a duty to withdraw, as I have felt it hitherto to continue to work for the good of the cause. As to favouring the French, if it can be called favouring them

"de leur faire un pont d'or pour se retirer," I certainly did that; and I believe every body will agree with me now, that if that received maxim was ever applicable, it is so in this particular case. I neither know nor care who differs with me in this opinion; if I am called upon for it, or to act according to it, I can only speak and act conscientiously as I have done from first to last, and pursue the precise same line of conduct.

Your lordship surely forgets the very formal tenor of some of your official despatches, or the vivacity of your language of apology in your private letters, when you disclaim having interfered with my operations. I am not fond of going over old ground at any time, particularly where the ground before me is interesting, and where the length of the weary way calls for all one's time and exertion to get on; but you must allow that I have no small share of forbearance, when I see myself the victim of misplaced criticism or the butt of every malicious shaft, not to speak out and set things in their true light. The fact is, I derive no small consolation from finding that the gainsayers talk without book, and are obliged to stop, each time they would lead us over the weary way again, for want of a guide. "Forward" is my motto, and on I go to meet and grapple with the enemy, without being weak enough to furnish ammunition or weapons to those whose operations of counteraction in the rear would favour the views of that enemy.

I rejoice to see by the publication of Mr. Morier's harmless journal, that they have found nothing of any consequence, and that they have cried out fire only from seeing a little smoke; it would be better

if there was neither smoke nor fire of that sort, but I hope and trust it will not be fanned into a flame, by any body's indiscretion or want of temper. We seem to be going to work as becomes military men, to do our best with the means we have; and although those means are inadequate, and the increase of them does not depend on us, we are to fight the French army fairly in Egypt; this, however, it must be confessed, is a field of battle more favourable for those who are used to it, and to the climate, than to our army, which, though braver, I am persuaded, than those of the French army who have survived the brave part of it that has perished in bearing the brunt of so many battles, is not so *aguerris* or so well able to bear privations, and to move with celerity. I have the command of the seamen destined to land and *create* a flotilla, I have no longer any power of making gun-boats here, or equipping the few that exist, that service is in other hands. Spuring is lame, but set on his legs officially by your renewed support, for which I thank you. I request the same for my brother, for the good of the cause, and I really mean for your sake as well as his; for if you don't consult the *carte du pays* his long experience in the country enabled him to trace for his early navigation during the adverse current of the French faction, perhaps when that tide begins to run again with a deeper, broader, but less rippling stream, you may all of you be swept round or over the Seraglio Point into the Seven Towers, where you will remain, till those, who remain out, have put the arch-magician Buonaparte into the Temple.

I once more beg of you to beware of the reunion

of all the revolutionary gang of state prisoners at the capital; *Beauchamp* is, I take for granted, Buonaparte's confidential agent preparing the way for citizen *Descorches* to make a resurrection among you. I had secured the expulsion of the fanatical Jacobin Chepy from the Levant, by exchange, but I now find he is to be transferred from Rhodes to the Seven Towers, where I suppose he will conspire at his ease, as I did in the Temple, and maintain his correspondence, as he has done at Rhodes, with his father, who was Merlin's confidential *juge de paix*, the same that interrogated me, and who, as the son tells me (as a claim on my good offices,) *has written* to him to say I owe much to him for his favourable report on that interrogatory; be that as it may, 'tis clear they *correspond*, which in these times is certainly very dangerous. I wish the man no harm, but I wish him anywhere but here. He is a conspirator by profession and habit, and if he was now in Paris, he could not refrain from exercising his talents against Buonaparte, as he now does for the propagation of republican principles, or at least the extension of the influence of the mother republic. Another consul resident at a very important point of the Archipelago, (Scio) is Vial, brother to the general just gone home—both are men of a very different stamp from Chepy, and I venture to brave all criticism and suspicion in recommending the latter to your good offices. If they were all sent home, in virtue of the secret instructions from Lord Grenville, dated 1st October, 1798, it would be well for the Levant. By the bye, the third paragraph of that letter contains the answer to the question lately asked in the house of

commons, 'Who gave the porte a right to dispose of our interest in the Mediterranean?'

"Your very sincere and faithful humble servant,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Very shortly after the command of the army had devolved on General Sir John Hely Hutchinson, and before several of the general and inferior officers were dissatisfied with his mode of carrying on the service, and of removing officers and others from the situations they long held, though they had conducted themselves so as to give satisfaction, two in particular were included which made him very unpopular. Sir Sidney Smith was removed from the gun-boats attached to the army, —and who was therefore to be considered as a part of the army: and Mr. Hammer was banished from the country, though this celebrated oriental scholar was of infinite service to the whole army: and though not a man of those brought into Egypt by General Hutchinson could speak one word of the language.

Poor Hammer could make no resistance; he had every officer of the army in his favour, and all regretted his loss. Sir Sidney Smith, however, was not to be so easily put down; he resolved to take up Hammer's cause, and wrote the following paper, without signature and without address; but he who runs may read and understand.

"

"His Majesty's ship Tigre, off Alexandria,
June 22nd, 1801.

"I sent Mr. Hammer a packet, through General Coote, who did me the favour to forward it under cover to you; but as he was expelled from Egypt before he

received it, I beg the favour of you to return it to me through General Coote; it is marked at the corner with my initials. From the manner of your expulsion of Mr. Hammer at the moment he was about to reap the fruits of his condescension and assiduity in rendering us service, every body that does not know him as I do, would suppose he was found obnoxious on some foundation prejudicial to his reputation; now I am myself perfectly satisfied of his fidelity in all cases where he has been or may be trusted, and I am persuaded, if you knew anything to the contrary, you would have thought it right to apprize me of it, and you would likewise have been so just, as to give to Mr. Hammer himself an opportunity of refuting any calumny which the mischievous may have invented against him, for the express purpose, in my opinion, of removing the only confidential person we have, who, knowing the oriental languages well, could and would detect the intrigues of the interested dragomen, that make a property of all affairs they can thus exclusively get into their hands. The injustice of condemning a man unaccused and unheard, and the inhospitality of depriving a neutral traveller of the advantages of free access to the antiquities of Egypt, (the only recompense required for acknowledged services,) is discreditable to us as a nation; and as you personally can have no cause of dissatisfaction against Mr. Hammer, it would be more creditable to you not to appear as the instrument of intrigue and malevolence. I am told that one principal objection to Mr. Hammer's remaining in the neighbourhood of the army, is the supposition that he keeps up my correspondence with the Turkish princi-

pal officers; why this should be an objection I am at a loss to conceive, as I neither have nor can have any correspondence with them, other than that of old acquaintance, grounded on a long connection in the affairs which interest the prosperity of the two countries, and which interest us all at this moment, so as to be naturally the subject of private correspondence, as well as of official. If you have the smallest suspicion of its being of any other nature, you have a large packet in your hands, which you have my leave to open. You will see that it cannot have been intended for your perusal, for if I recollect right, some of my liberal opinions respecting you are therein addressed to Mr. Hammer, which, though I can have no objection to your knowing them, would have been in more courteous terms if addressed to yourself.

"Having said thus much on the harshness of exiling a foreigner from a country, to which he has been invited by ourselves, as an inducement for him to remain with us, and dedicate a portion of his valuable time and extraordinary talents to our service, and without entering into the question of the right you may have to exercise such a power over an Austrian subject, in the territory of an independent state, I beg leave to complain in direct terms to you, of the inconvenience to which I am myself personally put, by the sudden and forcible expulsion of a friend of mine, to whom I had given some private commissions to execute, which are hereby disagreeably suspended. I had required of the Captain Pasha (by his means), a categorical explanation on a breach of promise made by his highness to me, which was to address himself to

me directly, whenever any part of my conduct gave him cause of dissatisfaction, in order that I might either alter or justify it. I am not a man to sit down quietly under injustice, where the person is of sufficient consequence for it to be worth while to go through with the question ; and when I say this, as applied to the *Captain Pasha*, I mean it most distinctly as *avis au lecteur*, though I have not yet got sufficient ground to speak more plainly ; but whenever I may succeed in my endeavours to obtain a certainty, as to the real author of misrepresentations which have produced hasty and premature decisions respecting me, as well as my friend, I trust you will have no objection to go into the subject with me, on fair and liberal grounds, in order that, if possible, things may go on with more harmony than they have done, by the removal of the real obstacles thereto ; I never shall allow any example of want of candour to influence me ; if you are disposed to be equally candid, you will acknowledge my services, or tell me wherein I have failed in my endeavours to be useful to you, and to the cause, or in what Mr. Hammer may have merited exile."

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO C. HUTCHINSON, ESQ.,

TO BE COMMUNICATED TO HIS BROTHER, THE GENERAL.

"Tigre, off Alexandria, 23rd June, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Knowing your zeal for the service, and being persuaded that you will acknowledge mine, together with my earnest wish that things should go on well, and above all, with harmony, I address myself to

you without scruple, to beg of you that you would recall to your brother's recollection those circumstances that ought to impress his mind with the same conviction, for he has acted towards me, as if he had forgot that I have ever been very frank and unreserved with him, telling him all I knew that could interest him in the career he was about to enter into, and warning him, at least, of every danger, although he would not allow me to pilot him in the fair channel, taking those in preference for guides, that have hitherto found themselves very well satisfied to act under my guidance, having no hope that I should ever submit to be guided by them;—I mean our ill-informed, illiberal, cruel, avaricious, perfidious, allies, the Turks. Their presumption, the natural offspring of ignorance, has, I am informed, made them conceive the project of assuming the chief direction in our councils. I distinctly warned your brother on the necessity of preserving an ascendency in the councils of these people, and of *interposing* in all cases, where their rapacity might induce them blindly to irritate the Beys, Mamelukes, and inhabitants, Arabs, and others, who have the resources and strength of the country, even at the risk of its being called improper interference. The honour, lives, and safety of the British army are at stake, and it is not by sitting third in the council, to be necessarily out-voted by *two*, who play into each other's hands, that he can do this, and still less where the dragomen employed are their timid, abject slaves, or self-interested beings, who suppress and misrepresent the substance of all conferences, and dare not say, what I take for granted General Hutchinson's spirit and love of justice will have often dictated

to him. I told him the way to preserve the necessary ascendency, was to keep the high ground of an arbitrator among them, as I did, with much less means than he has; to yield to their absurd propositions in *no* instance where they fail to produce conviction, as to practicability and utility, and to play one party off against another, so as to make all dependent for success at least, if not grateful for services. I had secured the means to General Hutchinson to do this, by having persuaded an intelligent, zealous, active, faithful friend to the cause, and to ourselves personally, to stay with us and see an end to this business, looking forward to the gratification of having free access to the monuments and manuscripts of antiquity in the country, as the sole recompense required. His knowledge of all the oriental languages made him very capable of detecting the infidelity of dragomen; the facility with which he writes would have shortened many a tedious conference, and his personal intimacy with the vizier and the Captain Pasha, besides being the depositary of the most confidential secrets, gave him a free access to them, which no dragoman can have, from the custom of the country. These were certainly inappreciable advantages, but they have all been thrown away by an arbitrary, capricious mandate, originating I know not where, but promulgated by General Hutchinson for this friend of ours (Mr. Hammer) to quit the camp and Egypt!! I can easier bear the incivility of this to me personally, than I can the loss the service must hourly sustain from such a man as the Reis Effendi (who was expelled from England when on his mission there, for facilitating Jacobin correspondence, and went over to

Paris to finish his education in 1794), being allowed to take a lead in the management of the mechanism, of which he will take care to make you all a set of puppets. He cries out against me, of course, because I (without crying *out* against him,) could, and he knows *would*, counteract his machinations. I dare say that Menou and he have intercourse that you are not informed of, and that the former will have address enough to persuade him that Buonaparte, the arch-fiend, is arbitrator of the destinies of Europe, and will settle the destinies of Egypt at Paris, on a much surer foundation, for the advantage of their good friend the Porte, than it can be done at Cairo, where, after all, the indiscipline of the janissaries will have little to settle. I can bear the personal slights I have met with from your brother, but I will not bear the treaty of alliance, I was authorised to sign for the advantage of the two countries, being lost sight of, or frittered away, by the intrigues of the Jacobin Effendi; and though I may be *excluded* from active operations in the field, I shall ever find my place and have a voice in the councils of our country in England, if not here. I wish your brother would take this hint respecting the Turks; I send it through you, as being more intimate with you, and sincerely your's,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Sir Sidney did not suffer the general to rest here. On the 6th July, he wrote to him, having got no answer to a letter of importance, and he now tells him that his not answering would preclude all other intrusion till he was more at leisure, if affairs of the great-

est magnitude were not at stake. This, with a reminder from Colonel Anstruther, drew from him a reply; the following is Sir Sidney's letter, together with the general's reply.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO GENERAL HUTCHINSON, DATED 6TH JULY, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,

"If I did not prefer the public service to all other considerations, your not having yet answered my last letter would of course preclude all other intrusion on my part, till you are more at leisure, but affairs of the greatest magnitude are at stake. I have, as you know, habits of intercourse and a certain influence with the Beys, and I offer you my services unequivocally, if I can be of any use in preventing them from falling again under the influence of the French, which is always to be apprehended, if they are persecuted and plundered by the vizier, unless we give them our protection; they ask me what they are to do, and what they are to expect? I am cautious in answering them till I know your sentiments, and yet they must have a satisfactory answer, or they may throw their weight into the opposite scale against us. I take for granted the spirit of the instructions, which are come out in the Leda, just sailed by, are in conformity to what you told me of your expectation on that head. I had previously endeavoured to keep the vizier from breaking his promise to me and to Mourad Bey; and I am apprehensive lest the death of the latter should make him consider himself as released from that obligation, of which he made me the depositary. The question, however,

remains precisely the same; and I can never, in any situation, lose sight of it, knowing, as I do, what great interests are at stake. I hope you will consider this letter as meriting your serious attention, and as requiring an answer. I am, with every deference and respect, yours faithfully,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Copy of a letter from General Hutchinson to Sir Sidney Smith—without date.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Though I am extremely weak and hardly able to write at all, I cannot avoid taking this opportunity of returning you my thanks for your letter on the subject of the Mamelukes. I have had a long altercation with the vizier, and was obliged to be very firm and at last angry; however, I have gained my point, and the vizier has restored to them their houses at Cairo, and has promised under his hand, to reinstate them in their villages. I will send you the correspondence on this subject; at present I am not able to get at it. I desired Mr. Hammer to write to you, in explanation of some events that have taken place, particularly the order given to him to retire from the army, and not to appear there again; you are now, I hope, convinced, that this had no reference to you; but, on the contrary, originated in transactions in which you had not the most distant concern: so far myself from having any personal prejudice against Hammer, I really have a

regard for him; but public men, who cannot always explain their conduct, must often appear unjust or partial, and must learn to submit to censure with patience, even from those whom they esteem.

"I have the honour to be, my dear sir, with great truth and regard, your faithful humble servant,

(Signed) "J. HELY HUTCHINSON."

Sir Sidney addressed another letter to General Hely Hutchinson, which must have touched him to the quick. It is an able performance, as everything appears to be that Sir Sidney undertakes; and it is the last I believe that he gave himself the trouble to write to General Hutchinson.

"Tigre, off Alexandria, 28th August, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have forborne to intrude on your time while active operations were in train of progress. There being, however, at this moment a truce, I profit by the interval of suspense, to inform you of my intention of going to England as soon as the French flag is hauled down in Alexandria, and to express my wish to have an hour's conversation with you before I go. Your letter (without date) received on the 2nd August, was satisfactory as far as it went; and I can assure you, no man is more ready than myself to accept a reasonable explanation of what appears to call for it, where a spirit of conciliation is manifest: but there is one weighty point to be discussed, which is of much importance to me, and which you may think of some to you, if you wish, as I am persuaded you do, to main-

tain your character for justice and liberality unimpeached.

"It is well known that my sudden recall from the distinguished situation I had the honour to hold, under your orders, was brought about by a miserable intrigue of the Capitan Pasha. It is equally well known, that the British commander-in-chief of the army, instead of supporting his friend and coadjutor, for such I certainly then was, not only acquiesced to this Turkish policy taking effect, but contributed thereto. It may be well supposed, that those whom I had prevented from plundering the country, and massacring the inhabitants at Rosetta, and those whom I required to keep the faith with the beys, pledged in my hands, should wish to prevent such sort of interposition by complaining of 'interference,' in order to remove me to a distance; but it was not to be expected, that those who were in duty bound to further the salutary views of the British government in that respect, should acquiesce thereto, and that at the precise time when I had brought things to a point, requiring nothing but one personal interview to claim the execution of the promises of which I was the depositary, in order to prevent the necessity of the strong remonstrances you acknowledge yourself to have been reduced to make to the vizier since, and, unfortunately, to very little effect, at such a late period of the business, as my letters from the beys inform me. I am still at a loss to know how you would have me answer them, and something I must say, for it is to me they look as having first engaged them to quit the French, under the guarantee of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

"Having said thus much on what regards the public, I beg leave to say a few distinct words on what regards myself personally. You have, by sending me afloat, deprived me of the only gratification I sought after three years' hard labour in this business; that of contributing my endeavours towards a successful end, or at least, of witnessing its termination on the spot. You have deprived me of the small share of credit I had a right to expect, in common with others of the same rank, whom you have specified, and thereby made it impossible for official notice to be taken of me, and excluded me from an army to which I felt proud to belong, and to which I shall ever feel myself warmly attached.

"Unless *you now do me justice*, the only statement that will remain on record under your hand in the business is one of complaint, that the naval part of the army did not afford you assistance on your left flank at Rosetta: now, at that very time, I had created a flotilla on the Nile without the assistance of a single man of my brigade of seamen, which was kept inactive before Alexandria; while the want of force afloat was complained of, that flotilla, so created and introduced, was more than equal to anything that was or could be required of it; and I appeal to General Craddock, Colonel Spencer, and Lord Dalhousie, whose zealous exertions I endeavoured to second, as to the ground on which they testified their satisfaction to me at the time.

"Now I am persuaded, in the general censure of the naval force, which your letter of the 27th of April conveyed to Lord Keith, you could not and did not mean

me personally; yet, as being the officer immediately responsible on the spot, and so soon afterwards known to be recalled by your instigation, that censure must be supposed applicable to me, although, in fact, I was at the time in sufficient force to be able to go up the river and explore it in the teeth of the enemy, without waiting for the protection of the army. You will remember, I offered to proceed as much higher as you might require, in compliance with Lord Keith's optional order to me; and therefore, in justice, you ought to have recalled an unqualified censure; whereas, the naval force under my orders is not even mentioned in your official report of our having secured the important communication of the Rosetta branch of the Nile, notwithstanding a proportion of credit was handsomely attributed to us by Colonel Spencer, under whom I voluntarily placed myself, although my rank was not inferior to his.

"On the appearance of your orders after the 21st, you may remember I thanked you, (rather ironically to be sure,) for having given the world a proof of your conviction that I was a man to work, whether I had any encouragement or not, as you afforded me work; at the same time I told you the case was different with regard to young officers seeking promotion, and seamen, to whom civil words could not but be grateful: you then promised me that you would write me a letter expressive of your approbation; that letter is still to come; and although I can well conceive the occupations which pressed on your time and on your health, in the hot climate of Cairo, may have been an obstacle to the execution of your good intentions, I trust and

hope that cause has ceased, and that you will still express yourself with regard to the branch of the service under my direction, in such a way as shall remove all ground of discontent on that score; and that the winding up of our Egyptian reports will, by doing every body justice, preclude the necessity of any body seeking redress for an injury to their character which retards their promotion. I am, sir, &c.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Sir Sidney Smith very soon perceived that the successor to the lamented Sir Ralph Abercrombie,—the friend and benefactor of the army, and most deeply lamented by all, both in the army and the navy,—was a man of very different calibre, but little experienced in military affairs, and not much disposed to be taught by others. We can only judge of the tempers and feelings of men we are unacquainted with, by their conduct towards others; and the harsh treatment of the kind-hearted Hammer by the General, can only be explained by the ignorance of the one, and the high character of the other in the literary world, and his state in society. The latter was Monsieur le Baron von Hammer—Purgstall, Conseilleur aulic à la Chancellerie de Cour et d'Etat à Vienne, who has been before mentioned. His château is named Schloss-Hainfeld, late the property of the Baroness Purgstall, who was Miss Cranstoun, of Edinburgh, sister of Professor Cranstoun, and aunt of Captain Basil Hall; and from this lady, or the count she married, Hammer inherited this splendid but somewhat costly domain, contrary, it was said, to Hall's expectation.

Strange to say, this most useful and esteemed gentleman was ordered away out of Syria by the General, to the indignation of every officer in both services in the neighbourhood of Alexandria.

Sir Sidney Smith, endued with the kindest disposition and most even temper, could not bear to see his friend thus treated; and determined to let the new commander-in-chief know his thoughts on this occasion; and as the general had a brother in the army, he thought if the advice he was about to administer went through a brother it might wound the less.

An extract of a letter from Lieutenant-General J. Hely Hutchinson to the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, Dated "Head-Quarters, Camp before Alexandria, September 5, 1801.

"SIR SIDNEY SMITH had originally the command of the seamen who landed from the fleet; he continued on shore till after the capture of Rosetta, and returned on board the Tigre a short time before the appearance of Admiral Gantheaume's squadron on the coast. He was present in the three actions of the 8th, 13th, and 21st of March, when he displayed that ardour of mind for the service of his country, and that noble intrepidity for which he has ever been so conspicuous. Captain Stevenson of the Europa, succeeded him, and I have every reason to be satisfied with his zeal and conduct. The crews of the gun-boats displayed great gallantry under his guidance in the New Inundation; and much approbation is also due to the naval officers who acted under his orders."

[The zeal and conduct, and the great gallantry displayed by the gun-boats, and the approbation, must mean, if anything be meant, to be due to Sir Sidney Smith (whom he had displaced) for the new one cannot yet have known anything of the matter.]

When matters were finally arranged, and the French army, by negotiation, had agreed to evacuate Egypt on the terms prescribed by the convention of El Arish, the 14th January, 1800, Sir Sidney accepted an invitation of the naval Capitan Pasha, to a grand entertainment on board the Sultan Selim, on which occasion he presented him with a valuable scimetar, together with one of his own silk flags, which is held as a badge of distinction, and exacts from all Turkish naval officers, admirals, and others, the same respect as that which they owe to the Pasha himself.

But that tribute of gratitude and admiration, which could not but be most agreeable to Sir Sidney, was the recognition of his valuable services by the Sultan Selim, who sent to him an envoy, one of the Pashas, to confer on him the Ottoman order of the crescent, accompanied with a firman and seal from the Sultan, which conferred on him unlimited authority over his subjects throughout the Archipelago; he had also received the turban, the aigrette, and all the appendages of the order of the crescent, the same as were conferred on Nelson, Duke of Bronte.

After this, and while the necessary preparations were in progress for the departure of the French army from the territory of Egypt, by way of a little relaxation

from his long continued labours, and being in the neighbourhood of the Holy City, Sir Sidney had the curiosity to pay a visit to Jerusalem, where, it is said, he was favourably received, and allowed to see the temple and such holy places as are generally refused to strangers; but as nothing appears from himself among the multitude of papers in our possession, nothing can be said on this visit.

By the following extract of a letter, from the Right Honourable Lord Keith to the Secretary of the admiralty, Sir Sidney appears to have applied to be the bearer of despatches:—

"Bay of Aboukir, September 2nd, 1801.

"CAPTAIN SIR SIDNEY SMITH, who has served with such distinguished reputation in this country, having applied to be the bearer of the despatches announcing the expulsion of the enemy, I have complied with his request; and beg to refer their lordships to that active and intelligent officer for any particular information relative to this or other parts of the country on which he has had opportunities of making remarks."

His lordship, therefore, appointed the Carmen frigate to convey him to England, and at the same time gave him, very properly, as a companion, Colonel Abercrombie, with the despatches of his late father, the commander-in-chief, whose valuable services, independent of the situation in which he stood, entitled him to that distinction. These two gallant officers embarked on board the Carmen on the 6th September, 1801, at Alexandria, and arrived in London on the 10th November.

The following affecting scene, on his taking leave of the Tigre, and of his brave officers and crew, after his farewell dinner on board that ship, is from the pen of an officer then serving in that ship, who witnessed his departure for England, and is now a captain of the navy.

"Sir Sidney Smith having been selected to be the bearer of the despatches, relating to the complete finish of the expedition, by the surrender of the city of Alexandria; he took his farewell dinner with his officers in the ward room of the Tigre, then lying at anchor in Aboukir Bay. With his usual kindness I was granted his permission, being then officer of the watch, to participate in the gratification, if such it can be called, of taking leave of the Carmen frigate, being the ship appointed to convey him home; she was at the time lying to, with her main-topsail to the mast just clear of our buoy, upon whole cable, when a gun from the flag ship, with her signal, was made, to know whether she had struck upon a rock or upon a shoal, and thereby rendered incapable of proceeding with her despatches? When, on my immediately going on deck, as officer of the watch, to make out the meaning of the signal, it was repeated with another gun. I took the signal book down to Sir Sidney, who was then in *the midst of his dinner*, when he directed me to man the barge, *at the same time saying 'Sir, I understand what the signal means.'* [It was in fact a gentle hint that the admiral thought the Carmen was rather long in getting under weigh.]

"Before I had time to report the barge manned, I heard three *loud and heartfelt* cheers in the ward-

room, when immediately the whole ship's company, upwards of six hundred of the noblest fellows I ever beheld in the service, sprang up into the rigging, with their feelings evidently much overcome at this moment of parting with their noble and gallant commodore, who had carried his broad pendant on board the Tigre, flying over them for nearly four years, and had executed a most arduous but gratifying service. On his witnessing such conduct so congenial with his own, Sir Sidney was also, by his own feelings, equally affected; and as he went over the sides of his noble ship, he could barely articulate his blessing on all, and that he would come off to see them, on their arrival, in a Portsmouth wherry!"

GENERAL J. DOYLE TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Camp on the banks of the Nile,
29th April, 1801.

"My dear Sir Sidney,

"I cannot express how grieved I feel at your being called away from us, at this most critical moment, when your talents, your local knowledge, and above all, your *energy*, would be so essential to our success. If I look upon it as a public man, deeply interested that the expedition should succeed, I consider your removal at this time as a national calamity; for, indisputably the fate of Egypt, in which so many consequences are involved, will materially depend upon the combined movement against Rhamanie. Now, whatever other good qualities this army may possess, it cannot be denied but we are sadly deficient in promptitude and energy, at all times necessary in warfare,

but peculiarly so against the enemy we have to cope with, and the baneful climate we must shortly expect to feel.

"You have too long known my sentiments upon those subjects, to make it necessary for me to trouble you with them at present; indeed it has been always a source of pride to me, that our ideas have constantly been in unison as to the mode of carrying on the war; but as those have been, for the most part, diametrically opposite to the opinions of some of the *sober undertakers* of the army, I begin to give some credit to the idea of your being in a certain degree *mad*; and therefore, if you are no longer allowed to animate us by your example, do, for heaven's sake, bite a few of us before you go; I should particularly recommend your sharpest fangs for our departmental folks; as for myself, a slight scratch would answer, as I am considered already strongly tainted with the same calamity as yourself, zeal and madness being deemed synomynous terms.

"God bless you, my dear fellow-sufferer, and continue you in your present state of madness, for your country's sake. I am always affectionately your's,

"J. DOYLE."

THE EVACUATION.

On the 7th September, Lord Keith turned over the command of the naval forces to Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton, to whom he gave particular instruc-

tions, in addition to his own, for his guidance; to co-operate with the general commanding the land forces, and with the Ottoman officers, and also with his majesty's ambassador at Constantinople; that he takes care to have ready the means of carrying into effect the evacuation of the French army, by means of troop-ships and most serviceable transports; that the Ottoman government give the best assistance it can in this important affair; and he is to assist them with pork, wine, and such articles as they may not be provided with.

The porte, his lordship says, having applied to the general and to me, to leave a British land and naval force for the security of this country, we have yielded consent, till his majesty's orders shall be received; and Sir Richard Bickerton is directed to keep up a correspondence with Lord Keith at Malta.

On the 11th September, Lord Keith put to sea, but continued to correspond with the shore from the Foudroyant, till the 19th. On the 15th he states, that, previous to the surrender of Cairo, 3000 French prisoners had been sent in cartels to France, after which the garrison of Cairo, consisting of 13,000, have been transported to that country, for the greater part in our troop-ships and transports.

And at this moment the garrison of Alexandria, composed of 11,712 is to be sent to France, of which number the Turks can only supply ships for the removal of 2,500. These his lordship observes are heavy calls, and the constant northerly winds and the quarantine, render the voyage from this country so long, that I can hardly look for the return of the ships before

the end of October—his lordship no doubt means *their departure.*

On the 10th October, Sir R. Bickerton writes from Alexandria, that "The French have gone away a few at a time, and that now only between two and three thousand remain in Alexandria, for whom I have transports nearly ready, and I expect the whole will embark to-morrow." And he further reports, that since the commander-in-chief left us, upwards of nine thousand English troops have sailed from Aboukir Bay in men-of-war, exclusive of the artillery men in ordnance transports.

On the 19th November, Sir Richard reports that the evacuation being so nearly completed he intends to return to Malta, leaving Captain Stephenson of the Diana, with two sloops, to execute the duties of the port of Alexandria and the Levant sea, of all which the lords of the admiralty express their great satisfaction. Thus the delay and the trouble, and the difficulty of getting the French out of Egypt, occasioned by one unfortunate letter, was in the course of two months overcome, and no further complaint or grievance heard of; and it was finally accomplished by the skill, the exertions, and the untired perseverance of seamen, who seldom fail, provided they have the advantage of being commanded and encouraged by officers of established character for their love of justice and humanity, as well as for unflinching courage, accompanied by a correct knowledge of their professional duties.

Such an officer, and such seamen under his command, as are here faintly and briefly described, are

those by whom the ancient and memorable city of St. Jean D'Acre was saved from destruction, and the intended destroyer conquered, and cowed, and finally driven out of the country.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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